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THE

ORATIONS

OF

ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES

ON

THE CROWN.

THE

ORATIONS

OF

ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES

ON

THE CROWN.

WITH

MODERN GREEK PROLEGOMENA, AND ENGLISH NOTES,

BY

ALEXANDER NEGRIS.

BOSTON:

HILLIARD, GRAY, LITTLE, AND WILKINS.

1829.

ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ

Ὁ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ, Ἢ, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Σὺν Γραικικοῖς Προλεγομένοις, καὶ Ἀγγλικαῖς Σημειώσεσιν,

Ὑπὸ

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΝΕΓΡΗ.

Τί δὴ, εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου ταῦτα ῥήματα βοῶντος ἀκηκόειτε;

Ἐν Βοστώνῃ·

Παρὰ Ἰλλιάρδῳ, Γραίῳ, Λιττύλῳ, καὶ Ὀυΐλκινσῳ.

ΑΩΚΘ'.

ΒΟΣΤΟΝΙΑΝΑ · ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

290. c. 97.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

Be it remembered, that on the twenty-fourth day of March, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book the right whereof they claim as proprietors in the words following, *to wit* :—

"Αἰσχίνου ὁ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος Λόγος. Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ἢ, περὶ Στεφάνου Λόγος. Σὺν Γραμματικαῖς Προλεγομένοις, καὶ Ἀγγλικαῖς Σημειώσεσιν, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νίγερ."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprierors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

Ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας
Μιττχάλφου καὶ συντροφίας,
τυπογράφων τοῦ ἐν Καντεβριγίᾳ Παιδιατηρίου.

ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ.

Ἂν τις ἀπὸ τὸ φαινόμενον κρίνῃ τοὺς παρόντας λόγους, πιθανὸν κατὰ πρώτην προσβολὴν νὰ στοχασθῇ συμφέροντα μόνον ἰδιωτέρων ὑποκειμένων ὅτι περιέχουσιν· εὑρεῖν ὅμως θέλει προχωρῶν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὅτι πρὸς τούτοις ἐναγκαλίζονται τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης ἑνὸς μεγάλου μέρους τὴν ἱστορίαν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπαντήσειν εἰς κάθε βῆμα. Ὁ πρῶτος ἀπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς δύο μονάρχας, εἰκοσιτέσσαρας εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτούς, καθ' ὃ διάστημα συχνοὺς ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μακροὺς πολέμους, κάμνων ἀεννάως καὶ μὴ φυλάττων ποτὲ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ μὴ ὅσον εἰς τοὺς φιλοδόξους αὐτοῦ σκοποὺς τῷ ἦσαν χρήσιμοι, τὸ κατά τινας εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποδιδόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἀκολουθῶν ἀπόφθεγμα, Δεῖ τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τοῖς ὅρκοις. Ἡ τῶν ὅπλων τύχη ποτὲ μὲν εὐνοϊκὴ, καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἐναντία, σχεδὸν ἰσοῤῥόπους μεταξὺ τῶν ἀντιμαχουμένων ἐκράτησε τὰς πλάστιγγας μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, ἥτις καθυπέβαλεν ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ὅπου τριακοντακισχίλιοι Μακεδόνες κατώρθωσαν, τὸ ματαίως εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς, εἰς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, δοκιμασθὲν ἀπὸ ἑκατοντακισμυρίους Πέρσας. Ὀλίγον μετὰ τὰ Χαιρωνικὰ, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐφόβισαν καὶ κατεβύθισαν ἐν ταὐτῷ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰς βαθύτατον πένθος· τέσσαρας ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸ τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος εἰσήχθη γραφὴ, κριθεῖσα μετὰ δεκαετῆ παρέλευσιν ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος, τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημ' ὑπῆρξε γόνιμον ἀπὸ μεγάλας μεταβολὰς, αἱ ὁποῖαι τόσον ἐγγυτάτας μὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἔχουσι σχέσεις, ὥστ' ἀμοιβαίως ὅ τε κατήγορος καὶ ὁ ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς τὸν σκοπόν των τὰς μεταχειρίζονται. Ἀπαραίτητον λοιπὸν μοὶ φαίνεται πρὸς

κατάληψιν τῶν δύο λόγων, νὰ δώσω μίαν γενικὴν ἰδέαν τῶν πολλάκις ἀναφερομένων ἀξιομνημονεύτων ἐκείνων συμβάντων· ὡς, Αἱ Θῆβαι ἀκαρπασθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τὸ μέσον τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπειλημμένος εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ μέλλων νὰ συμπατηθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν ἵππον· καὶ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς διαγωνιζόμενος περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας. Ἂν καὶ σύντομος ἡ διήγησίς μου θέλει μ' ὅλον τοῦτο χρησιμεύσει μεγάλως εἰς τὸν ἀναγνώστην, βάζουσά τον εἰς θέσιν ἀφ' ἧς θέλει διακρίνει τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ βοηθοῦσά τον νὰ τοποθετήσῃ κατὰ τὴν χρονολογικὴν των αὐτὰ σειρὰν, ἀμελουμένην καὶ μήθ' ὑποσημαινομένην ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο ἀντιδίκους, ὡς ἄχρηστον εἰς ἀκροατὰς συγχρόνους καὶ οἰκείους τῶν γενομένων.

Νικητὴς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ τροπαιοῦχος, ἡτοιμάζετο νὰ ἐκστρατεύσῃ κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Φίλιππος, ὅταν ἡ τυραννοκτόνος τοῦ Παυσανίου χεὶρ τὸν ἐσταμάτησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαμπροῦ του σταδίου εἴσοδον. Ὁ διάδοχός του Ἀλέξανδρος εἰκοσαετὴς παρέλαβε τὴν πάτριον βασιλείαν, καὶ δὲν ἐβράδυνεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκείνους νὰ εὐγάλῃ, ὅσοι κατεφρόνουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ νεαρὸν τῆς ἡλικίας του, ὧν εἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅστις τὸν ἀπεκάλει παῖδα καὶ μαργίτην· πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς τῷ ἀπήγγειλεν, ὅτι μειράκιον ἔγινε περὶ Θετταλίαν, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τείχεσιν ἀνὴρ θέλει νὰ φανῇ. Ἄλλην μ' ὅλον τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ἐκροὴν, ὁ κατὰ τοὺς μεγαλαύχους αὐτοὺς λόγους ἐπαπειλῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας χείμαῤῥος· ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτρεψεν ἀλλαχόσε τὰ βλέμματά του, καὶ διὰ πολλῷ λαμπροτέρων ἀνδραγαθημάτων ἐδοξάσθη. Συγκαλέσας ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ πατρός του, κάμνει καὶ τὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν ἡγεμόνα των ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας· ἡ Λακεδαίμων εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν περίστασιν ἠναντιώθη μόνη, λέγουσα ὅτι δὲν ἦτον εἰς αὐτὴν πατροπαράδοτον τὸ νὰ ἀκολουθῇ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ ναὶ, τὸ νὰ ἐξηγῆται τῶν ἄλλων· ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νὰ τὸν ἰδῶσι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν των, ὑπεῖξαν ἂν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, καὶ τῷ ἀπένειμον μεγαλητέρας ἀπὸ τὰς προλαβόντως εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον δοθείσας τιμάς. Πολεμικαὶ παρασκευαὶ πρὸς τοὺς σκοποὺς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦσαν ἀπαραίτητοι, καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπανέρχεται διὰ νὰ τὰς ἐπιταχύνῃ· ἀλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μανθάνων ὅτι νεωτερίζειν ἐθέλουσιν οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκστρατεύει, τοὺς κτυπᾷ, καὶ τοὺς παιδεύει· διαβαίνει μετέπειτα τὸν Ἴστρον

ἄνευ γεφύρης εἰς μίαν νύκτα, τρέπει τοὺς Γέτας εἰς φυγήν, οἷς ἡ τόλμη του τόσον φαίνεται παράδοξος, ὥστε μήτε τὴν πρώτην κἂν ἐχθρικὴν ἐμβολὴν δέχονται· καθυποβάλλει διάφορ᾽ ἄλλα βάρβαρα ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ πανικοῦ ὃν εἰς αὐτὰ τοὔνομά του ἐμπνέει φόβου, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν νικηφόρων αὐτοῦ ὅπλων· καὶ μ᾽ ὅλας τὰς τῶν πρέσβεών των ἀλαζονικὰς ἀποκρίσεις, τὰ κάμνει νὰ γνωρίσωσιν ἕνα κίνδυνον πολὺ πλησιέστερον τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων πτώσεως.

Ἡ ἀπουσία τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μία ψευδὴς φήμη τοῦ θανάτου του, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐγείρουσι τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων θάρρος, ὥστε συλλαβόντες ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φρουρᾶς, Ἀμύνταν καὶ Τιμόλαον, οἵτινες δὲν εἶχον τὴν παραμικροτέραν ὑποψίαν, τοὺς φονεύουσι, καὶ προσκαθέζονται εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἀποτειχίσαντές την ρὲ διπλοῦν χάρακα, καὶ ἀναμένοντες τὴν παράδοσίν της. Τοιοῦτον τόλμημα δὲν ἔμεινε πολὺν καιρὸν ἀτιμώρητον· εἰς τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, ὅστις μὲ ὑπερβολικὴν ἐπῆλθε ταχύτητα, τὰ ἴδιά των αὐτοὶ δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ πιστεύσωσιν ὄμματα· καὶ τόσον ἀποτυφλοῦνται, ὥστε προτρεπόμενοι ἀπό τινας τῶν Βοιωτάρχων, νὰ τοὺς ὅσοι συγγνώμην νὰ εὕρωσι δὲν ἤλπιζον ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἀμελοῦσι νὰ ὠφεληθῶσι τοῦ καιροῦ τὸν ὁποῖον τοῖς δίδει πρὸς μετάγνοιαν. Μετὰ τριήμερον πολιορκίαν ἡ πόλις των ἐκ προσβολῆς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πίπτει τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ὅστις τὴν ἀφανίζει κατὰ κράτος, ἐξακισχιλίους τῶν κατοίκων σφάττει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τρισμυρίους ἐξανδραποδίζεται, καὶ ἐναντίον τῆς φυσικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικείας, ἣν ἀκριβῶς σχεδὸν ἠκροάσθη καθ᾽ ὅλον τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἐκτεταμένων του κατακτήσεων, ὡμῶς προσφέρεται, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπει σκληρότητας ἀναγκαίας διὰ νὰ χαλιναγωγήσῃ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐκολωτέρως Ἕλληνας. Αὐτὴ δὲν ἔλειψεν ἡ πολιτικὴ νὰ κάμῃ τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἶχε κατὰ νοῦν ἀποτέλεσμα· πρεσβεῖαι πανταχόθεν ἐπέμποντο ζητοῦσαι τὴν ὑπεράσπισίν του· αἱ τῆς Αἰτωλίας πόλεις ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο ποία νὰ ὑποταχθῇ πρώτη, συγγνώμην αἰτοῦσαι τοῦ παρασχεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπανάστασιν τὰ ὦτα· καὶ αὐτοὶ παρακινηθέντες ἀπὸ τὸν Δημάδην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχάρησαν διὰ τὰς λαμπρὰς νίκας τὸν νέον βασιλέα, λόγων ἀφειδοῦντες, εἰς οὓς ἡ καρδία των τὸ παραμικρότερον νὰ λάβῃ μέρος δὲν ἠδύνατο. Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εὐνοϊκῶς μὲν τὴν πρεσβείαν δέχεται, στέλλει ὅμως ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ταὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ζητῶν νὰ

τῷ παραδοθῶσιν, ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ὑπερίδης, ὁ Πολύευκτος, ὁ Χάρης, ὁ Ἐφιάλτης, ὁ Μοιροκλῆς, ὁ Δήμων, ὁ Καλλισθένης, καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ Χαρίδημος, ὡς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, καὶ τῆς τελευταίας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπαναστάσεως. Δευτέρα πρεσβεία πέμπεται παρακαλοῦσα τὴν συγχώρησιν τῶν ζητουμένων, οἵτινες καὶ τυγχάνουσιν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε διά τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναπολειπόμενον ἔτι σέβας του, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ ναὶ ποτέμῃ τὰ παραπίπτοντα τὰ ὁποῖα τὸ μέγα του ἐβράδυνον σχέδιον, καὶ μήτ' αἴτιον μήτε πρόφασιν νἀφήσῃ δυσαρεστήσεως ἤθελεν· ὅθεν καὶ ὑφίεται τοῦ ζητήματός του, μὲ τὴν ἐξορίαν μόνην εὐχαριστούμενος τοῦ Χαριδήμου, ὁ ὁποῖος εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κατέφυγε τῶν Περσῶν.

Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐπικράτειάν του, καὶ χωρὶς ὑποψίαν διὰ καμμίαν γειτνιάζουσαν δύναμιν, ἑτοιμάζεται νὰ ἐπιτελέσῃ τὴν τοῦ περιφήμου μάντεως ἑρμηνείαν Ἀριστάνδρου, ὅστις, τὸ περὶ Λείβηθρα κυπαρίττινον τοῦ Ὀρφέως ξόανον φανὲν περιχυμένον ἀπὸ ἱδρῶτα, τὸ σημεῖον ἐξήγησε λέγων, ὅτι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος θέλει κατορθώσειν ἀοιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους πράξεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι θὲνὰ δώσωσι πολὺν ἱδρῶτα καὶ πόνον εἰς ὑμνοῦντας ποιητὰς καὶ μουσικούς. Ὁλοκλήρως λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκστρατείαν προσκολλᾶται τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐπίτροπόν του τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀποδεικνύει, καὶ ὡς ἔφθασεν ἡ ἄνοιξις, κατ' εὐθεῖαν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πορεύεται· καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπισκέπτεται τοὺς τάφους τοῦ Αἴαντος, τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων, οὓς προαιρεῖται νὰ ὑπερβάλῃ· τέλος εἰς τὰς ὄχθας ἀφικνεῖται τοῦ Γρανικοῦ. Οἱ σατράπαι νὰ τῷ ἀμφισβητήσωσιν ἀποφασισμένοι τὸ πέρασμα τὸν προσέμενον ἀπὸ ταὐτικρὺ μέρος· Μέμνων, ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὢν ἡγεμὼν τῆς παραλίας ἀπὸ τὸν Λαρεῖον, τοῖς συνεβούλευε νὰ μὴ ῥιψοκινδυνεύσωσι μάχην, ἀλλὰ καταπατοῦντες μὲ τὴν ἵππον νἀφανίσωσιν ὅλον τὸν χιλὸν, νὰ καύσωσι τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ καρποὺς, μήτε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδόμενοι, καὶ οὕτω λιμαγχήσαντες νἀναγκάσωσι τοὺχθρικὸν στράτευμα νὰ ἀναποδίσῃ. Τὰ μιᾶς παρομοίας συμβουλῆς ἀποβάντα, δοθείσης καὶ ἐκτελεσθείσης ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, κάμνει νὰ στοχασθῶμεν ὅτι δὲν ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πολὺ νὰ προχωρήσῃ δυνηθῆν, ἂν ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας ὕπαρχος Ἀρσίτης, δὲν εἶχεν ἐναντιωθῆν εἰς τὸν Μέμνονα, λέγων ὅτι δὲν θέλει ποτὲ συγχωρήσει τὸ νὰ καῇ μήτε μία μόνον οἰκία τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν του ἀνθρώπων. Αὐτὴ ἡ γνώμη τὴν

φρόνιμον ὑπερίσχυσε συμβουλὴν τοῦ ξένου, ὃν ὑπωπτεύοντο πρὸς μεγάλην των οἱ Πέρσαι βλάβην, ὅτι νὰ μηκύνῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἤθελεν, ἐπὶ σκοπῷ τοῦ νὰ παρασχῇ μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἑαυτόν του. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μ' ὅλον τοῦτο χωρὶς νὰκούσῃ τὸν Παρμενίωνα, ὃς τῷ παρασταίνει τὸν κίνδυνον εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἡ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ διάβασις ἔμπροσθεν πολυπληθεστέρου στρατεύματος τὸν ἐκτίθησι, τολμηχειρίζεται διὰ μυρίων ἀνυπερβλήτων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον δυσκολιῶν, καταβάλλει καὶ διασκορπίζει τὸ Περσικὸν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἱππικὸν, ὃ περιεχείλονε τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐπανακάμπτει ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τὸ πεζικὸν, τὸ ὁποῖον εἴτ' ἀπ' εὐτολμίαν εἴτ' ἀπ' ἔκπληξιν ἔμενεν ἔμπροσθον, τὸ περικυκλόνει, ἐφορμᾷ, τὸ ἀποσφάττει, καὶ πολυτελῆ λάφυρ' ἀφαιρεῖται, ὧν ἓν μέρος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας στέλλει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μὲ ταύτην ἀνατίθησι τὴν ἐπιγραφήν· Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων. Ἡ φήμη τῆς ἐν Γρανικῷ μάχης, παντοῦ διαδίδει φόβον· ἡ Ζέλεια, αἱ Σάρδεις, ἡ Ἔφεσος, ἀνοίγουσι τὰς θύρας των· ἡ Μίλητος παραδίδεται μετ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἀντίστασιν· ἡ Καρία, ἡ Λυκία, ἡ Παμφυλία, ὑποτάσσονται, καὶ εἰς μεγαλητέρας τὸν δρόμον ἑτοιμάζουσι κατακτήσεις.

Προσωπικῶς ἠθέλησεν ὁ Δαρεῖος τὸ πταῖσμα ἢ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀτυχίαν νὰ διορθώσῃ τῶν τοποτηρητῶν του· ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων πρόδρομος ἀβουλία, τὸν ἀπετύφλωσεν εἰς παραινέσεις αἴτινες εἰς τὸ νὰ τὸν σώσωσιν ἢ τοὐλάχιστον τὸν ἀφανισμόν του νἀναβάλωσιν ἔτεινον· καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις δυστυχίαις ἔχασε τὸν καλήτερόν του στρατηγὸν, τὸν Μέμνονα, τοῦ ὁποίου τοὺς Πέρσας ἄφησεν ὁ θάνατος ὡς ἀφρουρήτους, καὶ τὴν πτῶσίν των ἐτάχυνε. Τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀληθὲς, ὅτι περισσότερον ἢ ὀλιγώτερον εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἔχει πολλάκις μεγίστην ῥοπὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν πλέον κολοσσαίων βασιλείων τύχην· ἑξήκοντα συναθροισθεῖσαι μυριάδες ἀπὸ τὸν Δαρεῖον, δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν τὸ χάσιμον ἑνὸς μόνου, τοῦ Μέμνονος, νἀναπληρώσωσιν. Ἡ πολυπληθὴς αὐτὴ δύναμις, ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα της παραγγελλομένη, μέχρι τῶν τῆς Κιλικίας ὁρίων προβαίνει. Ὅλα πρὸς ὄφελος γυρίζουσι δι' ἐκείνους ὅσοι τὸ προνόμιον ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν αὐτῶν νὰ φθάσωσιν εἱμαρμένην. Ἡ ἀπὸ κινδυνώδη νόσον εἰς Ταρσὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προελθοῦσα διατριβὴ, παράφρονά τινα ἐμπιστοσύνην εἰς τὸν Πέρσην ἐμπνέει, ὃς εἰς δειλίαν αὐτὴν ἀπέδιδε, καὶ τὰ δύο

THE

ORATIONS

OF

ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES

ON

THE CROWN.

Αὐτὰ τὰ ἱστορικὰ ἀνάλεκτα, αὐτὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα σύγχρονα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν δύο μας ῥητόρων, τῷ χρησιμεύουσιν ὡς ἐποχὴ, καὶ κάμνουσιν εὐκατάληπτα πολλὰ πράγματα, τὰ ὁποῖα τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἕκαστος ἀναφέρει πρὸς ὄφελός του. Ἄλλως τε δὲν ἔλειπον εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην καὶ εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἔριδος ἀφορμαί· ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος ἀντίζηλοι καὶ ἐκ φιλοτιμίας, ἀεννάως ἀπήντων ὁ εἷς τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ἀντετάττοντο· ἀντικειμένων ἀρχηγοὶ στάσεων, εἶχον τοὺς φατριαστὰς, τοὺς συμπράκτορας, καὶ τοὺς πελάτας των· ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐσπούδαζον ἀμφότεροι τιμαῖς, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐθήρευον ἀξιώματα, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἔλαστρον παρεκίνει καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν προσάλληλον νὰ ἐργάζωνται ἀφανισμὸν, ἕκαστος πεπεισμένος ὅτ᾽ εἰς μόνα τοῦ ἀντιπάλου του τὰ ἐρείπια σταθερῶς δύναται νὰ κτίσῃ. Ἡ εὔνοια τοῦ δήμου, ἥτις ἀντιτύπως ἐταπείνονε τὸν ἕναν ὅταν ὕψονε τὸν ἄλλον, ἦν τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς εὐγλωττίας, ὅθεν καὶ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρμὴν ἁμιλλῶνται περὶ τούτου· καὶ ἤξιζε τῳόντι τὸν κόπον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὸ τὸ βραβεῖον ἐβασίλευεν εἰς μίαν δημοκρατίαν, ὅπου ἡ ὑπερτάτη δύναμις ὑπῆρχεν εἰς τὸν λαὸν, καὶ ὅπου τις περισσοτέραν ἢ ὀλιγωτέραν εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧττον ὁποῦ νὰ μεταχειρισθῇ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤξευρε, καὶ νὰ κινήσῃ τὰς καρδίας· κάθε πολίτης ὅστις τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἶχε δεινότητα, ἀπολύτως διῴκει πλῆθος αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐραστῶν μιᾶς τοὔνομα μόνον ἐχούσης ἀνεξαρτησίας, καὶ τὴν ὁποίαν μ᾽ ὅλον τοῦτ᾽ ἀμέτρως ἐζηλοτύπουν. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔβλεπον, ἤκουον, ἤθελον διὰ τοῦ πλέον εὐγλώττου ῥήτορος, καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνων ὁ ῥήτωρ διανομεὺς ἦτο καὶ κύριος παντὸς ἀξιώματος πολεμικοῦ ἢ πολιτικοῦ, ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν θέλησίν του τοὺς ἔκαμνε νὰ πάρωσιν ἢ νἀφήσωσι τὰ ὅπλα· μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ὁ παρεισδυόμενος ἄνθρωπος εἶχε τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ περισύρῃ τὰς γνώμας των, καὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ ἀγαπητοτέρου των πράγματος, θέλω λέγειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀτιμωρήτως νὰ τοὺς ὑστερῇ. Δὲν πρέπει λοιπὸν τις νὰ θαυμάσῃ, πῶς εἰς μίαν ἐπικράτειαν ἔνθ᾽ ἡ ἐπιστήμη τῆς πειθοῦς ἀπελάμβανε τόσον ἡδὺ προνόμιον ἐπαλληλεγγύα ἐτο μὲ τοσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ὅτι καθεῖς φιλοτίμως ἀνήλωνε τὸ πολυτιμότερον τοῦ καιροῦ του, διὰ νὰ τελειοποιηθῇ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὑπερτάτην τέχνην.

Μεταξὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥητόρων, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐγέννησεν ἄλλους ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ὁμοχρόνως ἔλαμψαν ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ὁ ἀνταγωνιστής του Αἰσχίνης· τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολικῆς

των ζηλοτυπίας μῖσος, ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἐξώργισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· σήμερον εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν πρέπει τις νὰ τοὺς ἑνώσῃ, διότι, χωρὶς ἑκατέρους νὰκούσῃ, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀξίους ἀκροάσεως, δὲν ἐμπορεῖ νὰ τοὺς κρίνῃ. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης, εὔρυθμος, γλυκὺς, ἀνθηρὸς, διαφεύγει, προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ διαλύει δεξιῶς τὰς ἐχθρικὰς ὑποφορὰς, ἡδύνει τὰς ἐκφράσεις του μὲ ὅλας τῆς καλλιεπείας καὶ τῆς ἐπικοσμήσεως τὰς χάριτας, ἐγείρει καὶ κινεῖ πολλάκις τοὺς ἀκροατάς· πλὴν μία δύναμις ἀνωτέρα, μία βροντώδης δεινότης, καταβάλλει καὶ ἀποκαθίστησιν ὡς ἔμπληκτον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ὅλους. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης διαγράφει λεπτουργῶς, ἐνηδύνει τὰς ἀκοὰς, καὶ πληρεξουσίως πως εἰς ὅσων ἅπαξ φθάσει νὰ εἰσχωρέσῃ τὰς καρδίας περιέρχεται· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἂν καὶ ὀλιγώτερον εἰς τὰ ὦτα, βαθυτέρως ὅμως εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγχαράττει, καὶ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν διαπεράσει, αὐτογνωμόνως δεσπόζει. Πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Αἰσχίνης ῥίπτει πανταχόθεν σπινθῆρας· ἐν ᾧ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀκτινοβολεῖ. Ὅταν ἀκούω τὸν Αἰσχίνην εὐχέρως νἀναβάλῃ τὴν κρίσιν μου δὲν ἐμπορῶ, καὶ σχεδὸν καταδικάζω τὸν Δημοσθένην μήτε νὰ τὸν ἀκούσω θέλων· πλὴν μόλις τὸν ἤκουσα, καὶ τὸν εὑρίσκω ἀθῶον, τὸν θαυμάζω· τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτὸς διαλύει, κάθε δυσκολίαν ἁπλῶς ἀποκόπτει, ἐκ θεμελίων ὅλας τὰς λεπτολογίας ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ σοφίσματ' ἀναιρεῖ, ὥςθ' ὡς νέφος ἀφανίζεται τὸ ψεῦδος, διαφανὲς ἀπὸ ζωηροτάτας γινόμενον διαυγείας. Ἀμφότεροι μ' ὅλον τοῦτο βροντῶσιν, ἂν καὶ μἄνισον σφοδρότητα· μήτε λοιπὸν ὁ Δημοσθένης πλέον ἄξιον ἀντίπαλον ἠδύνατο νἄχῃ, μήθ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης πλέον ἄξιον νικητήν. Ἂς μὴ συμβουλευθῶμεν περὶ τῆς προσωπικῆς αὐτῶν ἀξίας τοὺς ἰδίους· ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ σεμνοὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ, ἀμοιβαίως ὅτι δὲν εἶν' εὔγλωττοι διϊσχυρίζονται, καθεῖς ὀνομάζων τὸν ἀντίδικόν του, πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων, δεινὸν δημιουργὸν λόγων, μάγον, γόητα, καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος ὁ ἴδιος, ἁπλοῦς, εἰλικρινὴς, ἀληθής. Εἰς ἓν μόνον πρᾶγμα δὲν ἐμπορεῖ τις εὐκόλως νὰ κρίνῃ ποῖος ὑπερβάλλει τὸν ἄλλον, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλευθερία των εἰς τὸ νὰ ὑβρίζωνται, καὶ νὰ μὴ μετριάζωσι τὴν ὁρμὴν ἑνὸς ἀκατασχέτου θυμοῦ· φιλοτίμως ὁ εἷς καλεῖ τὸν ἄλλον, συκοφάντην, προδότην, μιαρὸν, ἀνόσιον, καὶ μὲ ἀμοιβαίαν ἀπέχθειαν ἐξαντλοῦσι τὰς ὑβριστικωτέρας λοιδορίας· τὰς προάγουσιν ἀναμφιβόλως πολλὰ μακρὰν, ἂς στοχασθῶμεν μ' ὅλον τοῦτο, πῶς εἰς μίαν δίκην πολλοῦ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀξίαν, νὰ καταπείσωσιν εἶχον λαὸν, καὶ μὲν ἀγχίνουν, ὅμως πάντα λαὸν, ὅθεν ὁ καταφατικὸς

τόνος καὶ ὁ θαῤῥαλέος τρόπος ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, οἵτινες δὲν τολμῶσι σχεδὸν νὰ ὑποπτευθῶσιν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὅστις ἐντόνως ὁμιλεῖ, καὶ ἐκφέρεται, δύναται νὰ ἔχῃ ἄδικον· ἡ τοῦ ἀθῴου δειλία, πολλάκις ὡς ἡμίσεια τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ὁμολογία ὑποτίθεται, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ παίστου προπετὲς, ἀντελὴς ἀθῳότητος ἀπόδειξις νομίζεται.

Πρὸς τούτοις ἤθελέ τις εἰπεῖν ὅτι διὰ νὰ καταστήσῃ τοὺς δύο ῥήτορας αὐτοὺς ἡ φύσις εἰς μεγαλητέραν ἔχθραν, τοὺς ἔκαμεν ὅλως ἀνομοίους· διότι καθὼς ἡ τῶν διαθέσεων ἀναλογία μᾶς συνάπτει διὰ δεσμῶν ἀόπτων, οὕτως ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν κλίσεων δι' ἀοράτων μᾶς χωρίζει φραγμῶν. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης, χαρίεις, γλυκύθυμος, εὐδιάθετος, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐφήμερος, φιλήδονος, εὐπροσήγορος, πολὺ νὰ συμφωνήσῃ δὲν ἠδύνατο μὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην, σοβαρὸν, ακυθρωπὸν, ἀγαπῶντα τὴν μοναξιὰν, φιλόπονον, αὐστηρὸν, βαρύθυμον, ἀνίκανον εἰς οὐδὲν νὰ ἐνδώσῃ, πάντοτε πρὸς τὰς καταχρήσεις ἕτοιμον νὰντιτείνῃ, καὶ μὲ δριμύ τι ζυμωμένον τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποκρούει καὶ ἀπομακρύνει. Ἡ ἀντιπάθειά των, πηγὴ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν Φιλόστρατον, πολὺν καιρὸν μ' ὅλον τοῦτο νὰ ζῶσιν εἰς ἀρκετὰ καλὴν ἁρμονίαν τὰς ἄφησε· καὶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέσπασε τοπρῶτον ἡ ἔχθρα των, ὅταν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν συμπρέσβεις, ἕκαστος τοῦ καλῶς βασιλεύειν ξεχωριστὴν ἠθέλησε μέθοδον εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ περιγράψῃ. Μετὰ τὴν τῆς πρεσβείας ἐπιστροφὴν, ὅπου δὲν ἐλαμπρύνθη ὁ Δημοσθένης ἴσως ὅσον ἐπεθύμει, μὲ τὸν φίλον του συμφωνεῖ Τίμαρχον (διότι καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες ἔχουσι τὰς μικροπρεπείας των), ὡς εἰς τὸ τῶ πρέσβεως ἄξίωμα παρανομήσαντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην νὰ κατηγορήσῃ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐπιτυγχάνει πάντοτε εἰς τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἡ ἀπολογία, χωρὶς ὁ Αἰσχίνης νὰ προσμένῃ τὴν προσβολὴν, ἓν ἀντιπερίσπασμα δοκιμάζει· ὑπὸ κρίσιν νὰ βάλῃ τὸν Τίμαρχον σπεύδει, ὡς ἔνοχον τῶν ἀῤῥητοτέρων προαγωγειῶν, αἵτινες κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὸν ἀπέκλειον τοῦ βήματος, καὶ κατορθόνει νὰ τὸν ἐλέγξῃ. Μερικοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους, ὁ Κτησιφῶν προβάλλει ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ μὲ χρυσῆν ἔμελλε στέφανον ὁ Δημοσθένης νὰ στεφανωθῇ· βραβεῖον μᾶλλον τιμὴν παρὰ κέρδος φέρον, καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς ἐκείνους ἐδίδετο τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοι μεγάλας εἶχον ἐκδουλεύσεις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κάμει. Τοιοῦτον πρόβλημα δὲν ἔλειψεν ἐκ νέου τὸ μῖσος νὰναύψῃ τοῦ Αἰσχίνου· κατηγορεῖ λοιπὸν τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὡς παραβάτην τῶν νόμων, οἵτινες ἀπαγορεύουσι τὸ νὰ στεφανῶται ἄρχων ὑπεύθυνος, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον, πολίτης ὃς ὄχι μόνον δὲν ἔκαμεν ἐκδουλεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πατρί-

δα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐβύθισεν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας δυστυχίας. Τὸ ὡς ἐξ ἀντιπέμψεως πρὸς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀποτεινόμενον κτύπημα καιρίως τὸν ἤγγιζεν· ὅθεν τόσον τὸ συμφέρον ὅσον καὶ ἡ εὐγνωμοσύνη ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸν Κτησιφῶντα συνήγορον, ὁ ὁποῖος μήτε νὰ οἰξῃ τὸ στόμα τὸν ἄφησεν· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ ἐναγκαλιζόμενος ἀγῶνα καθ' αὐτὸ ἰδικόν τε, δικαιολογεῖ συγχρόνως τὸν ἑαυτόν του καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην του.

Τὸ ὑπὲρ καὶ κατὰ τῶν δύο μας ῥητόρων σκεπτέον εἰς τὰς δικαιολογίας κατὰ τὸ παρόν. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης ὑβρίζει, καὶ μὲ πολλὴν ἐλευθεροστομίαν κατηγορεῖ, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐν γένει δὲν ἀπαρέσκει· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπαινεῖται καὶ καυχᾶται, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγανάκτησίν τινα διεγείρει. Ὁ διώκων ἔχει τὴν φιλοκατήγορον ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος του φύσιν μας· ὁ φεύγων, τὸ πολὺ πολὺ τὸν οἰκτόν μας. Ἡ θέσις των δὲν εἶναι παντάπασιν ὁμοία. Ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν δικανικὴν τάξιν ὁ Αἰσχίνης ἀρχίζων πρῶτος νὰ ὁμιλῇ, τῆς προσοχῆς ἀπολαύει ἀκροατῶν ἀκμήτων, τοποθετεῖ κατ' ἀρέσκειαν, ἀκωλύτως ἀντιδιαπλέκει καὶ συγχέει τὴν τῆς διηγήσεως σειρὰν, καὶ προλαμβάνων τὰς ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ὑποφορὰς, ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τῆς τῶν δικαστῶν γνώμης, καὶ τοὺς προδιατίθησιν εἰς τρόπον ὥστε νὰ μὴ θέλωσι κανὲν εἶδος ἀπολογίας νὰκούσωσιν. Ὅθεν εἶναι μεγάλη τέχνη, καὶ τέχνη ὠφελιμωτάτη, εἰς ὅποιον ἐξεύρει νὰ τὴν μεταχειρισθῇ, τὸ νὰ ἐμπνεύσῃ τὰς πρώτας ἰδέας· ἡ ἀπόκρισις τὰς εὑρίσκει θεμελιωμένας, καὶ μὲ δυσκολίαν ὄχι ὀλίγην κατορθόνει νὰ τὰς κρημνίσῃ καὶ νὰ τὰς ἀποβάλῃ, ἢ μᾶλλον δὲν τὰς ἀποβάλλει παντελῶς. Ἐμβρεγμένη ἅπαξ ἀπὸ τὴν πρόληψιν ἡ κοινὴ γνώμη περιχαρακόνεται, καὶ μαχομένη καρτερῶς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον νικᾷ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν της νὰ τὴν εὐγάλῃ πασχίζοντα· διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κερδίζει τις πάντοτε προκαταλαμβάνων καὶ τὰς καλητέρας ἀναιρῶν ἀντιλογίας· διότι ὅστις τὰς παρασταίνει πρῶτος, τὰς γυρίζει κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον του, καὶ ἂν δὲν τῶν ἀφαιρῇ τι μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, τοὐλάχιστον τὴν χάριν τὰς κάμνει νὰ χάσωσι τῆς καινότητος, ἥτις μεγάλως εἰς τὸν χυδαῖον ἰσχύει λαόν. Πλὴν ὡςαύτως ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ὁ Δημοσθένης, μὲ ὅλον ὅτι εἰς καθεστηκότας ἦν ἤδη προλήψεις ἀναγκασμένος νὰ προσβάλῃ, καὶ μιᾶς ἐκκενωθείσης προσοχῆς τὰ λείψανα νὰ συλλέξῃ, ὡμίλησεν ὁ τελευταῖος· εἶδος πλεονεκτήματος τὸ ὁποῖον διὰ νὰ μὴν εἴπω τίποτε περισσότερον, ἀντισταθμίζει καλῶς ὅλα τἄλλα· ἡ νέα

εἰκὼν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἀκροατῶν ὑποσκελίζει πάντοτε τὴν παλαιὰν, καὶ ἡ τελευταία τὸ προνόμιον ἐξόχως ἔχει, εἰς τὴν ἐνθύμησίν των ἐγκεχαραγμένη μόνη νὰ μένῃ. Κοινὸν εἰς τοὺς πλείστους αὐτὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάττωμα, τὸ εἶχον εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι βαθμὸν, καθὼς ὁ ἴδιος Δημοσθένης μᾶς τὸ διδάσκει, λέγων εἰς τὸν πρῶτον Ὀλυνθιακόν· Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ', ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς, οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθε, ἄν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῇ. Τὸ πρὸ πάντων ὅμως βλάπτον τὸν Αἰσχίνην εἶναι, πῶς ὅλοι ἐξεύρουσιν ὅτι ζητεῖ νὰ πατήσῃ, καὶ συκοφαντεῖ, κατηγορῶν τὸν Δημοσθένην ὡς φιλιππίζοντα· ὥστ' ἔμπροσθεν ἀδεκάστων κριτῶν, αὐτὴ ταύτη συνηγορεῖ διὰ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἡ ἀλήθεια. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης εἰς περιέργους ῥητορικὰς ἀντιθέσεις ζυγοσταθμεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα· καθὲν ἐπιπολαίως ἀπὸ αὐτὰ περιτρέχει· βάζει πολλάκις πάρεργα· κάμνει χρῆσιν ῥητορικῶν τόπων, τοὺς ὁποίους τρέπει πρὸς ὄφελός του· καὶ μὲ ὅσην τις ἐπιτηδειότητα νὰ φαντασθῇ δύναται, μερικὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντὶ τοῦ νὰ δώσῃ λόγον, μὲ τὴν τῶν φράσεών του γλυκύτητα θέλγων τὰς ἀκοὰς, παρεισάγει πιθανότητας, καὶ παρεμβάλλει συλλογισμοὺς ἀληθεῖς κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον. Ὁ Δημοσθένης τοὐναντίον ποτὲ δὲν ἀφίνει τὸ κεφάλαιον· ἀφ' ὅλα τὸ γυρίζει τὰ μέρη, χωρὶς νὰ πομακρυνθῇ τὸ παραμικρότερον· ἀποδείξεις ἀναφέρει σαφεῖς, ἰσχυρὰς, ἀποδεικτικὰς· τίθησιν ἀρχὰς προδήλους· καὶ τραβῶν ἀναντίῤῥητα συμπεράσματα, καταβάλλει τέλος πάντων διὰ τῆς ἐναργείας. Ὡσαύτως ὁ Δημοσθένης μᾶλλον ἐπαιρόμενος παρὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς εὐκαιρίας, ἥτις τὸν ἀπαλάττει τῆς μετριοφροσύνης, καὶ δεσποτικῶς ἀπ' αὐτὸν λεπτομερῆ τῶν ἠθικῶν του ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν του κατορθωμάτων διήγησιν ἀπαιτεῖ· καὶ χωρὶς νὰ λανθασθῇ μήτ' εἰς μίαν μόνην λέξιν ἥτις ἐλάσσων φαίνεται τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν ἀνεπικλήτου συνειδότος μαρτυριῶν, δικαιολογεῖται μὲ τὴν τόλμην ἑνὸς κατηγόρου, δὲν ἀπολογεῖται μήθ' ὡς ἱκετεύων μήθ' ὡς ἔνοχος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄλλος τις Σωκράτης, ὡς κύριος καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴς τῶν κριτῶν του, προστάττων τόσους κανόνας καὶ νόμους, ὅσας ἀποδείξεις καὶ λόγους ἐκθέτει· καὶ μετὰ τόνου προσήκοντος εἰς τὴν ἀθωότητα, μὲ ὑπέροχον ἐνωμένην ἀξιότητα, φαίνεται ὡς νὰ λέγῃ· Κανεὶς ἐνάρετος δὲν θέλει τὸν φθόνον ἀποφύγει καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν!

ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ

Ο ΚΑΤΑ

ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝ ἐγραψε ψήφισμα, "Στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ Διάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν, ὅτι διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα λέγων καὶ πράττων τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων." Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράψατο Αἰσχίνης παρανόμων, καὶ εἰσάγει κεφάλαια γενικὰ τρία· ἓν μὲν, ὅτι ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐστεφάνωσε, τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, "μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπεύθυνον ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν," περὶ οὐσίας· δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Διάτρῳ ἀνεκήρυξε τὸν στέφανον, ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου, "μηδένα στεφανοῦν ἐν τῷ Διάτρῳ," περὶ ποιότητος· τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, οὐκ εἶναι γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὐδὲ ἄξιον τοῦ στεφάνου· καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ παράνομον ἀνακτέον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύων τὰ ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν· ἔστι δὲ περὶ ποιότητος.

Ὑποφορὰς δὲ λαμβάνει τρεῖς, πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον δισσῶς ἐροῦντος Δημοσθένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρχων, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομὴ, ἀλλὰ διακονία τις καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρχὴ, τῷ γε ἐπιδιδοῦναι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ μηδὲν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἦν ὑπεύθυνος· περὶ ποιότητος ἀμφότερα. Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο Αἰσχίνης εἰσάγει στοχαστικὸν κεφάλαιον, οὐ μέντοι κατασκευάζει· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπίδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἶχε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τοῦτο δίκαι τάλαντα· περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον κεφάλαιον παρεχομένου Δημοσθένους νόμον ἕτερον, κελεύοντα ἀνακηρύττειν ἐν τῷ Διάτρῳ, ἂν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, Αἰσχίνης οὐ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων· περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τρίτον πολλὰ κατὰ μέρος.

Οἴεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς διηρῆσθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, τὰ πράγματα καθίκαστα εἰς τούτους μερίσαντα. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φησιν εἶναι καιρὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρώτου τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ Ἀμφικτόλιως γενομένου, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἥττης, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολιτευμάτων. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ αἴτιον αὐτὸν φησι γεγονέναι τῆς εἰρήνης,

αἰσχρᾶς οὔσης καὶ ἀδίκου, καὶ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ καινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίου τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κεκοινῶσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον αὐτὸς παρεσκεύασεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν περὶ Φωκίας συμβάντων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς ἥττης τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πείσας μετὰ Θηβαίων ἀραμένους τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον παρατάξασθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ πεμπτῳ, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐπολιτεύσατο. Μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ βίου παντὸς τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κτησιφῶντος ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἐν οἷς ἀξιοῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια ταῦτ' ἐστιν· ἕνεκα δὲ τῶν ἀγῶνα Δημοσθένης.

Μέμφονται μέντοι τινὲς τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδιέτριψεν ἐν τῷ παρανόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κατηγορεῖ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὐναντίον, τούτῳ μάλιστα διϊσχυρίζεται, λέγων οὕτως, "Ἔστι δ' ὑπόλοιπον μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι." Μήποτε δὲ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἔπραξεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶχε δόξαν μεγάλην παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ ὑπόληψιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς λαμπρότατα πεπολιτευμένος, εἰκότως ᾠήθη ψυχροὺς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους φανήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν παρανόμων λόγους, εἰ μὴ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσει τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης πανοῦργος ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι, καὶ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐπιμίμητως πεπολίτευται· διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπουδασε περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς κατηγορίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐνδιέτριψε. Μέμψαιτο δ' ἄν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον ἐοικός.

Ἡ στάσις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἔγγραφος, ἥτις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου· τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια δηλονότι τῆς πραγματικῆς περιέχει ἅπερ καὶ ἐκεῖ, οἷον τὸ νόμιμον τιμνόμενον εἰς τρεῖς νόμους, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον εἰς τέσσαρας καιρούς. Ὅρα δὲ, πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ συνηγόρων ἐκβολῆς, ἥτις καὶ Δημοσθένης.

Τινὲς εἶπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει κατασκευὴν τὸ προοίμιον, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ συμπέρασμα δεῖ ζητεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκατάσκευον, ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατασκευὴ, "Ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει." Εἰ γὰρ ἡ αἰτία τῆς προτάσεώς ἐστιν ἡ κατασκευὴ, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ μέτρια μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἱ δίκαι, κατασκευὴ ἂν εἴη. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ συμπέρασμα, "Ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκὼς ἦκω" ἕως τοῦ "μεῖζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων."

ΤΗΝ μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις, αἷς κέχρηνταί τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκὼς ἦκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενος

οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν ἰσχύειν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν μεῖζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων εὐκοσμίας, ἰσχύειν, ἵνα ἐξῇ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, σωφρόνως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελθόντι, ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς, ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ πόλει συμβουλεύειν, δεύτερον δ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον, καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν, χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ ἑκάστου γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι (οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ ἥ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι, αἵ τε κρίσεις ἐλάχιστα γίγνεσθαι)· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον ὡμολογημένα καλῶς ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλυται, καὶ γράφουσί τινες ῥᾳδίως παρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἕτεροί τινες τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐπιψηφίζουσιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαχόντες προεδρεύειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι, ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὄντως λάχῃ κληρούμενος προεδρεύειν, καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύῃ, τοῦτον οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκέτι κοινὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίαν αὑτῶν ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγελεῖν, καὶ καταδουλούμενοι τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς περιποιοῦντες, τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καταλελύκασι, τὰς δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ᾽ ὀργῆς κρίνουσι, σεσίγηται τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων·" τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι

κρατεῖν δύνανται οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι οὔθ οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔθ' οἱ πρόεδροι οὔθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλὴ, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.

Τούτων δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει τοιούτων, ὁποίους αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ἓν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας (εἴ τι κἀγὼ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων) αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί· εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε, ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, διοικοῦνται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις. Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ' ἀγνοείτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι, ὅταν εἰσίῃ εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παῤῥησίας· διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὅρκῳ, "Ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους," ἐκεῖνό γε εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι, ὅταν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία· ἃ χρὴ διαμνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς, μισεῖν τὲς τὰ παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἐᾷν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἳ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ

τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι· ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν, ἣν ἂν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχύνθητε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἣν τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Κἀκεῖνο δὲ χρὴ διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν ἅπαντες οἱ πολῖται, παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες, οἱ μὲν πάρεισι καὶ ἐπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ὅρκων οὓς ὠμόσατε μεμνημένοι, καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἐὰν ἐλέγξῳ Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γράψαντα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε, ὦ Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς παρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιοῦτε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κολάζετε τὸς ὑπεναντίως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολιτευομένους. Κἂν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκούητε τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι λόγων, εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι δίκαια, καὶ εὔορκα, καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπίζω προειρῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων, οἷ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ᾽ οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο τυγχάνει γεγραφὼς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσόδους διοικοῦντες, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ ἕκαστα τούτων, προσλαμβάνοντες τούς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, πόῤῥωθεν προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπαίνοις καὶ κηρύγμασιν, ὥστ᾽ ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰς

τὴν μεγίστην μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς κατηγόρους, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς δικαστάς. Πολλοὶ γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι, διεφύγγανον ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων· εἰκότως· ᾐσχύνοντο γὰρ (οἶμαι) οἱ δικασταὶ, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει (τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ) πρῴην μέν ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἔξεισιν ἐκ τῆ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθύνας ὠφληκώς· ὥστε τὴν ψῆφον ἠναγκάζοντο φέρειν οἱ δικασταὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου. Κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης, τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαῤῥήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. Καὶ ταῦθ' ἕτως εὖ προκατειληφότος τοῦ νομοθέτου, εὕρηνται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μή τις ὑμῖν ἐρεῖ, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν (εἰ δή τίς ἐστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων), ἀλλ' οὖν προβάλλονταί γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης· προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα, στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῷ. Καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται (προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθύναι), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευ-

θύνων κείμενον, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν, ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελῶν, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

Λέξουσι δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα, ὅσα τις αἱρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχὴ, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, κἀκείνας, ἃς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων, νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαῤῥήδην γέγραπται· "Τὰς χειροτονητὰς" φησιν "ἀρχὰς" (ἁπάσας ἑνὶ περιλαβὼν ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας εἶναι ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ) "καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας" φησὶ "τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων" (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) "καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων" (οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάται πάντες ἡγεμονίᾳ χρῶνται δικαστηρίου)· τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι, ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἄρχουσι), καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστὰς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, κελεύει. Ὅτι

δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃς ὁ νομοθέτης ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζει, οὗτοι προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν, καὶ ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον σοφιστὴν, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἄν τις ἄμεινον λέγῃ παράνομα γεγραφὼς, τοσούτῳ μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύξεται. Χρὴ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφίῃ ὁ νόμος, ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρὴ διδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.

Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὗτος, "Τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον μεῖζον ἐξείργασμαι· τίνος ἂν εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος; εἰ μή τίς ἐστιν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη." Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαίᾳ οὔσῃ, καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος, οὐδείς ἐστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. Διδάξω δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων· οἷον, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας, καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ, ἀλλὰ

καὶ κοινῇ κατὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. Πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους, βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀποδιδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς πατρῴας οὐσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φιλοτιμίαν. Οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ τριήραρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἔρχεται ψῆφον. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι· καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυρίαν ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ψῆφον. Οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάνυ γε· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἐάν τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐξαμαρτάνῃ κολάζωσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι. Πάλιν τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, ὑπεύθυνον πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης· καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εὐθέως ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων λέγει· "Ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνόν" φησι "μὴ ἀποδημεῖν." Ὦ Ἡράκλεις (ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις), ὅτι ἦρξα, μὴ ἀποδημήσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως, ἢ πράξεις, δρασμῷ χρήσῃ. Πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν, οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι, οὐδ' ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἑνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀποδῶσι τῇ πόλει. Ναὶ, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔτε

εἴληφεν οὐδὲν τῶν δημοσίων οὔτ' ἀνήλωκε, προσῆλθε δὲ πρός τι τῶν κοινῶν. Καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τὸς λογιστάς. Καὶ πῶς ὅ γε μηδὲν λαβὼν μηδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ πόλει; αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἃ χρὴ γράφειν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι "Οὔτ' ἔλαβον οὐδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἀνήλωσα·" ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀζήτητον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης, λέγων ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· "Οὔκουν ἐχρῆν σε, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἐᾶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρύξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαί σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς. Μὴ ἅρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἐξαιρῇ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου· ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν."

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὗτοι προφασιοῦνται, μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅθ' οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχήν, ἄρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δέ πω τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐθύνας δεδωκὼς, ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ

τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι, ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, ὅτι μεσοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν στεφανοῦν· ἀναγίνωσκε.

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτῳ δείξαιμι, δικαίως ἂν ἁλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἱρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἡ ἐμὴ, ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ' ἑκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὔβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μὲν (πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι) τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχὴν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ νεωρίων ἀρχὴν, καὶ σκευοθήκην ᾠκοδόμουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπιτιμῶν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, ἐάν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ᾖ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἐᾷ, πρὶν ἂν λόγους καὶ εὐθύνας δῷ, στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν, Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἁπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα, οὐκ ὤκνησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἦρχεν, ὅθ' οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχείριζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάμβανε, τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτη-

σιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν Σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἑκάστης τῶν φυλῶν ἑλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἵν' ἡ πόλις ἔχῃ ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Καί μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναὶ, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθέως, λέγων ὡς οὔτ' ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὔτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. Καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιήσονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς τούτων τέχνας. Μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προειπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἴδη τρία, ὧν ἓν μὲν καὶ πᾶσι φανερώτατον οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται, τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, "Καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι αἱρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας." Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀφέλῃ τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπεται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττύες καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἱροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἱρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι· τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται, ὅταν, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῇ τι

ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι, ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι. Ὅτι δ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ἀναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Πανδιονὶς φυλὴ ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα, ἕτερος δ᾽ ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὀμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, μὴ προσθεὶς "ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῷ," ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐξήλεγξα τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἅμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. Πῶς οὖν ἄν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παρανομώτατα γεγραφότα;

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανόμως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑμᾶς διδάξω. Ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαῤῥήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μέν τινα στεφανοῖ ἡ βουλὴ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. Οὐ γὰρ (οἶμαι) ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαπᾷν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. Ὁ

μὲν νομοθέτης οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πνυκὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκὼν, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. Οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφὼς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις, ἃς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Οὗτοι γὰρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἕξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τῷ νόμῳ μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇ γραφῇ τῇδε, καὶ λέξουσιν, ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἷς μὲν, ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι, διαῤῥήδην ἀπαγορεύων τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγῳδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέξομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς

νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστ' ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τί ἂν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾗ ταὐτὰ προστάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως, μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτε εἰς τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε· οὔτε ἠμέληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαῤῥήδην προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους, εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐναντίος ἑτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ εἴπου εἰσὶ νόμοι πλείους ἑνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ ἑκάστης πράξεως· κἄν τι τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκωσιν, ἀναγεγραφότας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιγράψαντας τὸς νομοθέτας, τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὅπως ἂν εἷς ᾖ νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἑκάστης πράξεως. Καί μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος, καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης (οἶομαι) τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτανέων

ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις, ἀνήρητ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἤτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν, ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὁπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερῶς δήπου ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. Ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψευδὲς τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς, προειπὼν ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. Γινομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγῳδῶν, ἀνεκήρυττόν τινες, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν· ἄλλοι δέ τινες ὑποκηρυξάμενοι, τοὺς αὑτῶν οἰκέτας ἀφίεσαν ἀπελευθέρους, μάρτυρας τῆς ἀπελευθερίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιούμενοι. Ὃ δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτατον, προξενίας τινὲς εὑρημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι, διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων, ἢ Χίων, ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας· καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στεφανούμενοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ προελόμενοι ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυττομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδέδεικτο τόπος ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ᾗ χρὴ στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀνηγορεύοντο ἐνώπιον ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· κἀκεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὗτοι

δ' ἄνευ ψηφίσματος. Συνιδὼν δή τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκεῖνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἠνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθεὶς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων· καὶ διαῤῥήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου (φησὶ) μηδενὸς, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. Ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναῤῥηθῆναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμένοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπῃ μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ, φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπείπῃ δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν,—ὅταν δή τις ταῦτα ἀφέληται, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα σημεῖον ὑμῖν τούτου ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. Αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναῤῥηθῇ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφανούμενον. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν τολμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ

εἷς οὕτως ἀγεννὴς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς ἔδωκε στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ καθιεροῦν. Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν στέφανον καὶ καθιέρωσις γεγένηται, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίαν εὔνοιαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς πατρίδος, χείρων γένηται τὴν ψυχήν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναῤῥηθέντα στέφανον οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον γίγνωνται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἵν' ἡ πόλις ἡ βουλομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν, πρέσβεις πέμψασα δεηθῇ τοῦ δήμου, ἵν' ὁ κηρυττόμενος μείζω χάριν εἰδῇ τοῦ στεφάνου ὑμῖν, ἢ τοῖς στεφανοῦσιν, ὅτι κηρύξαι ἐπετρέψατε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλεῖν, ναὶ, εἴ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ "ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ" ὅ τι ἐστὶν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις, ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

Ἔστι δ' ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπεύδω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως

ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, "Καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρὸς τὸς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας" καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, "ὅτι διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ." Ἁπλοῦς δὴ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γίγνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρῖναι εὐμαθής· δεῖ γὰρ δή που τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεικνῦναι, ὡς εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς, καὶ ὡς οὔτ' ἤρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα, οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. Κἂν τοῦτ' ἐπιδείξω, δικαίως δή πᾳ τὴν γραφὴν ἁλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. Τῷ δ' ἀπολογουμένῳ τἐναντίον τούτου δεικτέον ἐστίν. Ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων κριταί. Ἔχει δ' οὕτως.

Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐξετάζειν μακροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ' ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον Δημομέλη τὸν Παιανιέα, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κηφισοδότου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλεω τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅτε εἷς ὢν τῶν τριηράρχων Δημοσθένης, καὶ περιάγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νεὼς καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ συνθύων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ τούτων ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι, οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένω περὶ θανάτου, κατήγορος γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη τὰ περὶ Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύλους, οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ χορηγὸς ὤν, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα

μνῶν ἅμα τήν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδιδοὺς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο φοβούμενος, μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. Καίτοι, ὦ Κτησιφῶν, ὅτῳ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχρῶν οὕτως ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὡς τὸν κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν [ψευδῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ καὶ λίαν προωμολογημένα, πότερα αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι, ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σὲ, τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν, πότερα χρὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει διδόναι;

Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγένηνται καιροὶ, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. Ὧν ἕνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἁπάντων (ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω) καταλογίζεται ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τὸν χρόνον τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐγὼ δείξω. Δεύτερον δὲ καιρὸν φήσει γενέσθαι ὃν ἦγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον δ' ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον, μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς

ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρόν. Ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος (ὡς ἀκούω), μέλλει με καλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν, ὁποίῳ τέτων τῶν τεττάρων αὐτῷ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ, καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλτιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῦσθαι· κἂν μὴ θέλω ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω, ἐκκαλύψειν μέ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι. Ἵν᾽ οὖν μήθ᾽ οὗτος ἰσχυρίζηται, ὑμεῖς τε προειδῆτε, ἐγώ τε ἀποκρίνωμαι, ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν, Δημόσθενες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ὑπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως (ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους), ἀποκρίνομαι, ὅτι ἁπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγορῶ σου, οὓς σὺ διαιρῇ· κἂν οἵ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι, καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι, κἀγὼ δύνωμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἃ σοι σύνοιδα, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἀποδείξειν τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἁπάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγενημένον. Καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ λόγου τάξει ταύτῃ, ἣν τοῦτον πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖσθαι μέλλειν· λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτον περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων. Καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγράψατε.

Ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἴασαν περιμεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας, ἃς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου παρ' ἑκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τούτων ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν συστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὰν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἱρῇ. Οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε· εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἥκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους,—ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμνήσκοντος τοὺς καιρούς, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου ὃ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, ἐὰν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγρα-

φότα ψηφίσματα μετὰ Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δ' αἰσχύνης κεκολακευκότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου, τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα, αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔκδοτον δὲ Φιλίππῳ πεποιηκότα Κερσοβλέπτην τὸν Θρᾴκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ πόλει, ἐὰν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι ὑμῶν μετρίαν δέησιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν πεπολιτεῦσθαι. Λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε.

Ἔγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκας καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. Ἦκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Λυκῖνος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆει ὁ χρόνος, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐν ταύτῃ εἰσέρχεται βουλευτὴς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. Νικᾷ γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἑλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης· κἀκεῖθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπεί-

σασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μέν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν δέδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη μοι σφόδρα προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συνκοφαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην (εἰκότως, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας), πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὓς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην· δεύτερον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἵν' εἴ τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν, ὁρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ Θρᾴκης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος, μήτε μετέσται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. Παρηγγέλλετο δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατιά. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἐξωνούμενος οὐκ ἠδίκει (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα), οἱ δ' ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινώσαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ, μεγάλης ὀργῆς ἦσαν ἄξιοι. Ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι, καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς

πρυτάνεις τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἱσταμένου τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς, ὅτε ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προαγὼν, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ πρότερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται γενομένην τινά· πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος, ἵνα (φησὶν) ἐὰν ἤδη παρῶσιν ὡς ἡμᾶς οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, βουλεύσηται ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον, τοῖς οὔπω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκαταλαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἐπανελθόντων τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦκον οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ ἐν ἄστει Διονύσια τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρελήλυθει τὰ Διονύσια, ἐγένοντο διτταὶ ἐκκλησίαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων, οὗ τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερῶ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ ἐπιλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι· ἔπειτ' ἀπήντησαν ὀρθῶς, ἰασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι, ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μησὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἱκανὸν γενέσθαι παρασκευάζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὔνοιαν τῇ πόλει μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν᾽, εἰ παραβαίνοιντο αἱ συνθῆκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ᾽ ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ἃ νῦν ὑμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. Ὅτι δ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

Τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφὼς, ὡς ἔσαι μὲν εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον εἴη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βουλεύσασθαι, ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων. Νὺξ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρῆμεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ προκαταλαμβάνων Δημοσθένης τὸ βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀπούσης συμμαχίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος) ἀποῤῥῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρώτημά τι ἠρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται,

προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι· καὶ τέλος ταῦτ᾽ ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένῳ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκράτους. Ὃ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσοβλέπτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης τόπον ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραξαν ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ μισοφίλιππος ὑμῖν οὗτος ῥήτωρ δὶς ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἐξὸν μηδὲ ἅπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἕκτῃ λέγω, προκαθεζόμενος, βουλευτὴς ὢν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἔκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἐποίησε. Λανθάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφίσματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας (ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης), ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται "Ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχων." Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Κερσοβλέπτου σύνεδρος ἐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας ὀμνῦναι, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρεύοντα ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὅρκων. Ὅτι δ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι, τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα γράψας, καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὸν ἡ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακή· ἀκίνητον γάρ ἐστι καὶ οὐ συμμεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὁπόταν βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πονηροὺς, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ᾽ ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι χρηστούς.

Ὑπόλοιπον δέ μοι ἐστὶ τὴν κολακείαν αὐτῷ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύσας, οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε, καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε, καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠγεῖτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. Καὶ ὅτ' ἀπῆεσαν εἰς Θήβας, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὀρεικά, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις πρᾴπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, κατα-γέλασον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. Ἵνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικοῦτος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ, πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον, κατεψεύσατο ὡς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὓς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν, νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἑβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐθύετο καὶ παρηνόμει, τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας· καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. Ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστὸς, οὐδὲ ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς

περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστὸς, οὐδ᾽ ὅστις ἐστὶν οἴκοι φαῦλος οὐδέποτ᾽ ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς κἀγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξε.

Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πραγμάτων (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ δεύτερος καιρὸς), καὶ τί ποτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ᾽ εἰσαγγελίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ᾽ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὁ μαρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ᾽ ἤδη διαφερόντως ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω Πυλῶν Φίλιππος παρῆλθε, καὶ τάς τ᾽ ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δὲ, ὡς τόθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου συμφέροντος ἰσχυροὺς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς τ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκευαγωγήκατε, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δὴ ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης, διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι (συνέβη δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεσθαί τι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι)· τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτούσης ταραχῆς, μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων αὐτῷ νοσημάτων ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ ἡγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδήλως ἀπολεῖσθαι,

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκιμήσειν, καὶ προδότης ὢν τῶν φίλων καὶ πονηρὸς, πιστὸς τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι. Κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ τῆς πόλεως προσπολεμοῦντες ἡσυχίᾳ, ἄσμενοι παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον ὀνομάζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριὼν, ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. Οὗτός ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέδριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μουργίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον· καὶ ἐς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι Φίλιππος πρέσβεις, καταφρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ πέμποι, κατασκόπους πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέσβεις· εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππῳ. Ἁλόνησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασε.

Ναὶ, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν (ὡς αὐτός φησι) τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ. Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἠδίκησθε καὶ μάλιστα ἠγνοήκατε· σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς μεγίστης συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἵν' ἐφεξῆς εἴπω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι.

Ὑμεῖς γὰρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠδικημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρὸς (οὗς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν λαβὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν), καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης οὔσης Ὠρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἑκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὔβοιαν Θηβαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς, ναυσί τε καὶ πεζικῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι, καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι. Καὶ τηλικαῦθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς Εὔβοιαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιοῦνθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερεβάλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς (ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθὸν λαβὼν ἐνεκωμίαζεν), ὁρῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τινας δυσχωρίας κατακεκλεισμένον, ὅθεν μὴ γικήσασι μάχην οὐκ ἦν ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἐλπὶς οὔτ' ἐκ γῆς οὔτ' ἐκ θαλάσσης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Εὐβοίας στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμεταπεμψάμενος, ὅ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὁ νυνὶ πάντας δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν, τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀναι-

ρήσοντες. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἀφίεσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις αἴσχιστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχῆσαι κατὰ πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακὸν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίως ἑαυτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες, πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Τυχὼν δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὑτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος· καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιῆει μετὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων εἷς ὠνομάζετο. Ἀδικήσας δὲ Φίλιππον, κἀκεῖθεν ἀποδρὰς ὑπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις· ἐγκαταλιπὼν δὲ κἀκείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου, παρ' ὃν ᾤκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. Ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγγελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατιᾶς, μίαν ἐλπίδα λοιπὴν κατεῖδε σωτηρίας, ἔνορκον λαβεῖν τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα, βοηθήσειν ἄν τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴῃ, ὃ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσαιτε. Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποστέλλει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέδωνα καὶ

Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν δήμῳ ἐλπίδας κενὰς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Τρία δ' ἦν ἃ ἅμα ἐξωνεῖτο· πρῶτον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας, εἰδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεὶς τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος, ἢ τεθνᾶναι ἐγκαταληφθέντι, τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστράτευον, ἥ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων· δεύτερον δ' ἦκον οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεύειν Ἀθήνῃσι Χαλκιδέας· τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις. Καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθένης, ὡς αὐτὸς προσποιεῖται (ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν), ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα μόνον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀντὶ τούτων εὐφημίας ἕνεκα προσγράψας, καὶ Χαλκιδέας βοηθεῖν ἐάν τις ἴῃ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συντάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύειν ὁ πόλεμος ἤμελλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίστοις ὀνόμασιν αἰσχίστας πράξεις γράφων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, τὰς μὲν βοηθείας ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν προτέρας ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀεὶ δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. Ἵνα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὴν Καλλίου γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὔπω τοίνυν τοῦτό ἐστι δεινὸν, εἰ οἱ καιροὶ πέπρανται τηλικοῦτοι καὶ συνεδρίαι καὶ συντάξεις,

ἀλλὰ πολὺ τότε δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δὲ (ὃν ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν) δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ Ὠρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ὁρώντων, φρονούντων, βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων συνέδρους παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνέδριον συνήγαγον· ὃν δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι' οἵων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἀφικνεῖται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. Εἶπε γὰρ, ὡς ἥκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν ταλάντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο ὅσον ἑκάστους ἔδει συντελεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντας καὶ Μεγαρέας ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα, τὰς δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις ἁπάσας τετταράκοντα, ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν δύναμιν· εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς συντάξεως, ὥστ' οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσεσθαι ἀπορίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ πράξεις πράττειν ἑτέρας δι' ἀποῤῥήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναί τινας μάρτυρας τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκάλει Δημοσθένην καὶ συνειπεῖν ἠξίου. Ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς πάνυ παρελθὼν, τόν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπῄνει, καὶ τὸ ἀπόῤῥητον προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν δ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν, ἣν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη

βέλεσθαι ὑμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων, πάντας μὲν Πελοποννησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνας συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα χρημάτων μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν πληρώματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἱππεῖς χιλίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέρους τοσούτους· δεδόσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῖν· πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τῆ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός· εἰρῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρηγγέλθαι πάντας ἥκειν συνεδρεύσοντας Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὴν πανσέληνον. Καὶ γάρ τι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιεῖ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζόνες, ὅταν τι ψεύδωνται, ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται λέγειν, φοβούμενοι τὸν ἔλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν ἀλαζονεύηται, πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ὅρκου ψεύδεται, ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύτερον δὲ, ἃ εὖ οἶδεν ἐδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμᾷ λέγειν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὁπότ' ἔσται, καὶ ὧν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἑώρακε, τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ μιμούμενος τοὺς τἀληθῆ λέγοντας· διὸ καὶ μάλιστ' ἄξιός ἐστι μισεῖσθαι, ὅτι πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ γραμματεῖ, μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, κενώτερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οὓς εἴωθε λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε, μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ ἐσομένων, καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐδέποτε συλλεγησομένων. Ἀπαγαγὼν

δ' ὑμᾶς ἄποθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀναμνησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας, γράφει κελεύων ἕλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, οἵτινες δεήσονται τῶν Ἐρετριέων (πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι αὐτῶν) μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν τὰ πέντε τάλαντα, ἀλλὰ Καλλίᾳ· καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρους αἱρεῖσθαι εἰς Ὠρεὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ δεήσονται τῶν Ὠρειτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν εἶναι· ἔπειτ' ἀναφαίνεται πέρας ἁπάντων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι γράψας, καὶ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦν τοὺς Ὠρείτας μὴ ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλίᾳ διδόναι. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἀνάγνωθι, καὶ τοῦ κλέμματος ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος ἄνθρωπος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι διατελεῖν λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἠκούσατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.

Ὑπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι λαβὼν τρία τάλαντα μισθὸν, τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου, τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ἐρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ τυράννου, τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ὠρεοῦ, δι' ὃ καὶ καταφανὴς ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὠρειτῶν καὶ πάντα πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. Ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως

διακείμενοι, πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν Χαριγένους υἱὸν, τοῦ δυναστεύσαντός ποτε ἐν Ὠρεῷ, δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφιέναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελλόμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα στήσεσθαι ἐν Ὠρεῷ· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδήμῳ, ὅτι ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τὸ Καλλίου εἰσπράττειν. Ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὠρεῖται καὶ οὐκ εὐπορῶντες, ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τὰ ταλάντου τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, καὶ τόκον ἤνεγκαν Δημοσθένει τοῦ δωροδοκήματος δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου· ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ὠρειτῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχύνη μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων, φανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία Κτησιφῶντος· τὸν γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχρῶς δωροδοκῆντα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθὸν, ὃ τετόλμηκεν οὗτος γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικράτατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημοσθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως πράξεις, ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἴσην τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίαν γράψας. Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

Ἔστι γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρραῖον ὠνομασμένον πεδίον, καὶ λιμὴν ὁ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος ὠνομασμένος· ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατῴκησαν Κιρραῖοι καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαι, γένη

παρανομώτατα, οἳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἠσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας· ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις μάλιστα μὲν (ὡς λέγονται) οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες, μαντείαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμωρίᾳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελθεῖν. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία, πολεμεῖν Κιρραίοις καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαις πάντ' ἤματα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μήτ' αὐτοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι, μήτ' ἄλλον ἐᾷν. Λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψηφίσαντο (Σόλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίου τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι δυνατοῦ, καὶ περὶ ποίησιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετριφότος), ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν ἱκανὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἔχωσαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καθιέρωσαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅρκον ὤμοσαν ἰσχυρὸν, μήτε αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργάσεσθαι, μήτ' ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ, καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει. Καὶ ἐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον μόνον τὸν ὅρκον ὀμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἀρὰν ἰσχυρὰν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιήσαντο· γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ· "Εἴ τις τάδε (φησὶ) παραβαίνοι, ἢ πόλις, ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγὴς (φησιν) ἔστω τοῦ

Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προναίας·" καὶ ἐπεύχεται αὐτοῖς "μηδὲ γῆν καρπὸς φέρειν, μήτε γυναῖκας τέκνα τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ἐοικότα, ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μηδὲ βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἦτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμῳ καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνων, καὶ μήποτέ (φησιν) ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ, μηδ' Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά." "Οτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τῆ θεῆ μαντείαν, ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς, ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὅρκων, ὃς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνώμοσαν.

ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

"Οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε πόληος ἐρείψετε πύργον ἑλόντες,
Πρίν κε θεοῦ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης
Κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς."

ΟΡΚΟΙ. ΑΡΑ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνῴκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς Πυλαγορῶν ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν Πυλαγόρας, λαμβάνει χιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι· διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ

ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἂν προσάρηται ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, ἢ δυνάστου, ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης, τούτων ἑκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν.

Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὡς περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, Πυλαγόραι ὑμεῖς εἵλεσθε Μειδίαν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον (ὃν ἐβαλόμην ἂν πολλῶν ἕνεκα ζῆν) καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν Λέκκιον, καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. Συνέβη δὲ ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφῖχθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα Διόγνητον πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεπεπτώκει καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθηντο Ἀμφικτύονες· ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὔνοιαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεὼν πρὶν ἐξαράσασθαι, καὶ ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα, "Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τἀναντία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμάχοντο." Μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἠξίου με εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προῳρημένον. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν, καὶ προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον,

τῶν ἄλλων Πυλαγορῶν μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ (ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο) οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκώς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένης, ἀρχὴν δέ γε ἔφη· "Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ' ἂν ὠνομάζετε τοῦνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετε τοῦ ἱεροῦ." Ἅμα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρώβυλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξῄει λέγων, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότ' ἐκαρτέρουν ἀκούων, οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν· ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθην, ὡς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ βίῳ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δ' οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην, μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἔστηκὼς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον). "Ὁρᾶτε" ἔφην ἐγώ, "ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀμφικτύονες, ἐξειργασμένον τουτὶ τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, καὶ κεραμεῖα ἐνῳκοδομημένα καὶ ἐπαύλια· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε τούτους αὐτοὶ (καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων) τέλη πεπραχότας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λιμένος." Ἅμα δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ὅρκον τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ἀρὰν τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμην, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ (κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον) καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ, καὶ χειρὶ καὶ

ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύναμαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλεύσασθε· ἐνῆρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα, μέλλετε δ' αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τἀγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ· σκοπεῖτε δὴ, ποίᾳ φωνῇ, ποίᾳ ψυχῇ, ποίοις ὄμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσεσθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους; οὐ γὰρ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ κατά τε τῶν ἀσεβησάντων, ἃ χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρεψάντων, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται· "Μήθ' ὁσίως θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντές (φησι) τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μήτε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μήτε τῇ Λητοῖ, μηδ' Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερά."

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξελθόντος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδή ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τιμωρίας. Ἤδη δὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης, προσελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε, "Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἥκειν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἄμας καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ Θυτεῖον ἐκεῖ καλούμενον·" καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἀνηγόρευε "τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ Πυλαγόρας ἥκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ· ἥτις δ' ἂν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρξεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐναγὴς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἔνοχος." Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἥκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρη-

μένον τόπον, καὶ κατέβημεν εἰς τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχωροῦμεν· ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόντων, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ἑξήκοντα στάδια ἀπόθεν οἰκοῦντες Δελφῶν, ἦκον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὅπλων πανδημεί, καὶ εἰ μὴ δρόμῳ μόλις ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν ἀπολέσθαι. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων (ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς Πυλαγόρας καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ). Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη πολλαὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἐγίγνοντο κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἥκειν τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης Πυλαίας ἐν ζητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα, καθ' ὅ τι δίκας δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦ δόγματος οὖν τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης ἀντιλέγοντος, καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἠδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέρεται

προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ δήμου τὸ ψήφισμα, ἤδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε ἐπέτρεψα), καὶ τῶν πολλῶν διαφειμένων· οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι· "Τὸν δὲ ἱερομνήμονα (φησὶ) τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς Πυλαγόρας τοὺς εἰσαεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων," εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἁπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίγνεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει· "Τὸν ἱερομνήμονα (φησὶ) τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς Πυλαγόρας τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις, μὴ λόγων, μήτε ἔργων, μήτε δογμάτων, μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς." Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τἀληθὲς εἶπω, ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον ἀκοῦσαι; τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐρῶ· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὑτωσὶ τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. Οὐκ ἐᾷ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς, οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως (ἧς ἐγὼ ὅτ' ἂν τἔνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων), καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρ-

σάλιον, τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Σκύθαις ἔτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπήγαγον. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ, καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ, τούς τ᾽ ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον, καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγενημένης.

Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μονονουχὶ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προηκάμενοι; οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτ᾽ ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἑώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην. Οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν τὸ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανὲν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι, ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή; οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμυνιάδης μὲν προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε, φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος

τῆς διδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων, ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον; κἀίτοι γε πρώην ἀπετόλμησε λέγειν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιππος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἄξιος εἶ τυχεῖν, ὦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε; εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' ἐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι, πρὶν καλλιερῆσαι, τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερον στεφανοῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις, ἢ ὑπερορίζεσθαι;

Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν; οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς ἐσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τὸν Ἄθω διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτῶν, ὁ τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν, ὅτι δεσπότης ἐστὶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δυομένου, νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἑτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας; καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἡγεμονίας ἠξιωμένους, οἳ καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἠλευθέρωσαν; Θῆβαι δὲ πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐδὲν ὀρθῶς βουλευσαμένη, ἀλλὰ τήν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην ἐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησαμένη; Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαί-

πωροι προσαψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὁμηρεύσοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρὶς, ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου μετριότητι κριθήσονται; ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὑρησόμενοι, νῦν ἐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους; καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσελήλυθεν. Εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποφαίνεται· λέγει γάρ που, παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι. Λέξω δὲ κἀγὼ τὰ ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν, ἵν' ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐταῖς χρώμεθα.

"Πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακῆ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ,
"Οστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μητιάαται.
Τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων,
Λοιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λιμὸν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·
Ἢ ὅτε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν, ἢ τόγε τεῖχος,
Ἢ νῆας ἐνὶ πόντῳ τίννυται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς."

Ἐὰν δὲ, περιελόντες τῶ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον, τὰς γνώμας ἐξετάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσιόδου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ

πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρπασμέναι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας.

Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυνώνδας, οὔτε Εὐρύβατος, οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὃς (ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τἀληθῆ) τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. Καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν τούτῳ πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν οὗτος στρατηγὸς Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεὺς, πρόξενος ὢν Θηβαίοις, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς, οὐχ ἧττον Δημοσθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων ῥήτωρ, καὶ οὗτος Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκὼς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, δημαγωγὸς Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεὺς, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, ῥήτωρ Πύρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος, ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῇ· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τε-

λευταῖον, Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἥπτετο αὐτῶν, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσήειτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διεσκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περί γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου, τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, (καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν;) ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιρούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὑτοῦ πρεσβείας, πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται· τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν, ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας, τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας· δεύτερον δὲ, τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν

κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινὴν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν) ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα, τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν, βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ λέγω, καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην, συνείθισθε ἤδη τἀδικήματα αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. Δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τούτου μεῖζον ἀδίκημα ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὑτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, κἂν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντείποι, καταδουλεύμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔφη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγείου. Μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῦσι, πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε φέρων,

ἀναρπασθέντων τῶν ξένων, τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκεύῳ τῇ πόλει. Τί γὰρ ἂν οἴεσθε Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὔξασθαι; οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, χωρὶς δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαγωνίσασθαι, ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης πληγῆς προγεγενημένης; καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἴτιος γεγενημένος Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ, εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθήσεται, ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδ' ἱκανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον ἀναῤῥηθήσεται, τοῦτ' ἀγανακτεῖ. Οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις, μεγάλης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη, δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφοράς.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονοῦντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' ἀγνοοῦντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνετος) ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας σμικρῷ μέρει διαγωνιεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν μέλλοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φοβουμένων τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον εἰκότως (οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετὴς γεγονὼς ἀείμνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσε)· τούτων δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως αἰσθόμενος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπτεύσας μέλλειν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι, χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόντας, ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, εἴ τινος ἀπολειφθήσεται δωροδοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων λέγοντος οὔθ' ὡς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς

Φίλιππον εἰρήνην, οὔθ' ὡς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς ᾤετο, τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώμνυτο τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν (ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐνεπιορκεῖν Δημοσθένει), ἢ μὴν εἴ τις ἐρεῖ ὡς χρὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεοφῶντος πολιτείαν, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου (ὡς λέγεται) τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσεν. Ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα βουλεύσησθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθα παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ γράφειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὁ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀδέποτ' ἀντιβλέψας, πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσοντας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ὑπεραισχυνθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες, μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὥρμησαν.

Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος, ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε, τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. Ὦ πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν,

ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; ἐὰν δ' οὗτος λέγῃ, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασιν (ὡς ἔοικε) καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; γένεσθε δή μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσατε ὁρᾶν προϊόντα τὸν κήρυκα, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάῤῥησιν μέλλουσαν γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε, πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡρωϊκοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισιοῦσιν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ; τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἕλλην καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθέρως, ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε (εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον), ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίγνεσθαι (ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἡ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρῆτο), προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανούς, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλίᾳ κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ πρρτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι "Τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἥβης ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν." Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παραστησάμενος τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ, ἢ τί φθέγξεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ διεξίῃ τὰ ἐκ τῶ ψηφίσματος πρόσταγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν σιωπηθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τἀναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος

φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα (εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ) στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. Μὴ (πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι), μὴ τρόπαιον ἵστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἱρεῖτε παρανοίας ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον, ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐ παρεγένεσθε, ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ νομίσατε ὁρᾶν ἁλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας ὀψὲ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους ἐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι· οὔτε πόλις γὰρ οὔτ' ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος. Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πορθμεύοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετροφότα τοῦτον ἐάσετε πάλιν ἀπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά;

Ἵνα δ' εἴπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν καὶ τὸς Ἕλληνας ἠργυρολόγησε. Καταγαγούσης δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριὼν ἡμιθνὴς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν αὑτὸν χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸς πρώτους χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰᾶτε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη, πάλιν αὖ τερατευόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἱδρύσατο Παυσανίᾳ, ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ δ' εὐαγγελίων εἰς θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐ κινηθήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἀγαπᾷν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα· καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἵματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα, καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῷ ἀνανδρίας. Ἤδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτὴς

ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεὶς, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τῶ Κιθαιρῶνος ἦκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὔτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. Καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ἐστιν ἃ λέγεται· ὡς γάρ φασιν οἱ πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀρισίων Πλαταϊκὸς, ὁ τῶ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου υἱὸς (εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ὑμῶν γιγνώσκει)· ἅτός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος, ἑτέρων τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος ᾤκησε πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὅ τι δὲ πράττων ἢ πάσχων, ἀμφίβολος ἡ αἰτία, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὔσχημον ἐμοὶ λέγειν. Οὗτος (ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω) ἠγνοημένος ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς βεβιωκὼς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. Διὰ τούτω γράμματα πέμψας Δημοσθένης ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἄδειάν τινα εὕρηται καὶ διαλλαγὰς, καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν πεποίηται. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε, ὡς ὅμοιόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφρόνει Δημοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν (ὥσπερ καί φησι) πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν ὀδενὶ φαίνεται κεχρημένος. Εἷς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι καθεστηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀκατασκεύων αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων ὄντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἤκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινὴν συμμαχίαν προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους αὐτῷ κινδύνους. Εἶπάς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημόσθενες, ἢ ἔγρα-

ψάς τι ψήφισμα; βούλει σε θῶ καὶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ (καίτοι ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει); ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει Δαρεῖος κατεβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν ἀπειλημμένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεὴς, ὡς ἔφησθα σὺ, αὐτίκα μάλα δ' ἤμελλεν (ὡς ἦν ὁ παρὰ σοῦ λόγος) συμπατηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἐχώρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ἃς ἐξηρτημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιῄεις, ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων, εἴ τι πταῖσμα συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' εἴς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλε καλλίω. Ὑπερβὰς τοίνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα, ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ Κόῤῥαγον στρατιώτας, Ἠλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλοντο καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδία πᾶσα πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως, αὕτη δ' ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἁλῶναι, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης μεθειστήκει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρόνον συνῆγε στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον ἄδηλον ἦν. Ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν ποίησαι, ὦ Δημόσθενες, τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔπραξας καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ἃ ἔλεγες, καὶ εἰ βούλει, παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγᾷς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην ἔχω σοι, ἃ δὲ τότ' ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νυνὶ λέξω. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ σιδήρεοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι;

ὅτ᾽ ἔφη παρελθὼν "᾽Αμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμοῤῥαφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ, τινὲς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι." Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστιν, ὦ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων ᾽Αλεξάνδρῳ "᾽Ομολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστῆσαι, ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περῥαιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι." Σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποσήσαις; σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν, ὅπου κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν; ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μέν που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθεσθήσῃ, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις· ἐὰν δ᾽ αὐτόματόν τι συμβῇ, προσποιήσῃ, καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπιγράψεις· ἂν δ᾽ ἔλθῃ φόβος τις, ἀποδράσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ θαῤῥήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφανοῦσθαι.

Ναὶ, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστιν. ᾽Εὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέψητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε· ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. ᾽Εγὼ μὲν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν λογιοῦμαι ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω ποῖόν τινα εἰκός ἐσιν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἀντιθέντες ἑκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ᾽ αὐτὸν μὴ ὁποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ᾽ ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν.

Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογήσειν τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς, ἵνα μὴ διὰ

τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενὴς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις, οἳ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ (τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον) μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν· τρίτον, σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῇ κατὰ τὸ δήμου· τέταρτον, εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν, καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τήν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην ἀεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου· πέμπτον, ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλίπῃ τὸν δῆμον. Τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν, πάντα τἀναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

Τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι)· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ, ἐγὼ φράσω. Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων, ὅστις προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, φυγὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο, θανάτου καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, κἀκεῖ λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὠνομασμένους Κήπους, καὶ γαμεῖ γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νὴ Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ, Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γένος· ἐξ ἧς γίγνονται

αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο, ἃς ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλας συνῴκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὁτῳοῦν ὁτῳδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔγημε παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης ἥκιστος γεγένηται Δημοσθένης. Οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ δήμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνωτε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης βάρβαρος ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἐστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἐστιν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμενος· ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· πλεῖστον δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφὼς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα περιεποιήσατο. Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιεγένετο. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πορίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων. Περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ λόγου δύναμιν πῶς πέφυκε; δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιῶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιΐᾳ, ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἃ τούτῳ πέπρακται· ἤδη γάρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλησίον αἰσχρὰ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. Ἔπειτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοὶ, τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα. Πρὸς δ' ἀνδρίαν βραχύς μοι λείπεται λόγος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἠρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι, ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ συνήδειτε αὐτῷ, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρέσχεν·

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνισε, λοιπὸν ὑπομνῆσαι τὰς περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. Ὁ γὰρ Σόλων, ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ᾤετο δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί. Καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις ὑμῶν, εἴ εἰσι φύσεως γραφαί· εἰσί· τίνος ἕνεκα; ἵν' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστὴς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχῃ. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν, ἔξω τῶν περιῤῥαντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει, καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ στεφανοῦσθαι, οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτελῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κελεύεις ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ προσήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα; ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐκεῖνο μέμνησθε, ὅταν φῇ δημοτικὸς εἶναι, θεωρεῖτ' αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ τίς φησιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόνους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ τοὺς εἰκῇ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὔθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι χάριν ὑμῖν εἴσονται, οὔτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐπανορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μή ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,

μεγάλα τούτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. Εἰ γάρ τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσειε, πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα δοκεῖ ἡ πόλις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων· ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν διαφέροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῷ καταδεέστεροι· δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλείους ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα τίμιον, νῦν δ' ἤδη κατα- 10
πέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιεῖσθε. Οὔκουν ἄτοπον οὕτωσὶ διαλογιζομένοις τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νῦν πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι, 15
τότε δ' ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω διδάσκειν. Οἴεσθέ ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθελῆσαί τινα ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων, παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, εἰ ὁ στέφανος ἐδίδοτο μὴ τῷ 20
κρατίστῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ; ἐδεὶς ἄν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν ἐπασκεῖν. Νῦν δ', οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀείμνηστον ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσί τινες τὰ σώματα παρακαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαιπωρίας ὑπο- 25
μείναντες διακινδυνεύειν. Ὑπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, κἀκεῖνο ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε, πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἕξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ 30
τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζησθε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς

φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. Πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὁ στρατηγήσας ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικᾶτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὰς τάξεις λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ, ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τὸς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, Ἀριστείδης θ' ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, εἴ που γέγραπταί τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν στεφανῶσαι. Ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; ἐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων, κἀκεῖνοί γε οἱ μὴ οὕτω τετιμημένοι, τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἣ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὖσα διαμένει· δωρεὰς δέ τινας ἐλάμβανον, ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.

Ἦσαν τινὲς κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς, οἳ πολὺν ὑπομείναντες πόνον καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· ἔτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι, τὸν δῆμον ᾔτησαν δωρεὰν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότ' ἐδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στῆσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφῆκε δὲ μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε· ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ

ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν,
"Ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἵ ποτε Μήδων
Παισὶν, ἐπ' Ἠϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,
Λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα,
Πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὗρον ἀμηχανίην·"
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ,
"Ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε δῶκαν,
Ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.
Μᾶλλόν τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
Ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν·"
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῇ,
"Ἐκ ποτε τῆσδε πόληος ἅμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς
Ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἀμπεδίον,
Ὃν ποθ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων
Κοσμήτωρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.
Οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
Κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης."
Ἔστι πω τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Προσέλθετε οὖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην· ἁπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Τί οὖν ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη γέγραπται· τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτωσὶ μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται· πῶς; ἐκ ἠτήσατο τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ἠτήσατο, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρῴῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα

τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἷς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δῦναι χιλίας δραχμὰς (καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανοῦσθαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῷ (τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται)· καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῇ πρᾶξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλήν, ἢ χ ὅσοι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΥΛΗΣ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὃ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένει τῷ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. Εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκεῖνο αἰσχρῶς· εἰ ἐκεῖνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, ἕτος ἀνάξιος ὢν στεφανοῦται.

Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς ἃ δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα φήσει τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι

στεφανῶσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἕνεκα στεφανῶνται. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, οταν τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιῆται πρὸς τὸς Ἕλληνας. Μὴ ἓν ἡμῖν ὡς Παταικίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι διέξιθι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσι.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

"Τόσδ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα σεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἵ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκοις
Θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν
Ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι."

Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τὸς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτός φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. Ἐναυλον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τότε πᾶσιν, ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη, ἐπειδή τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖλον. Καὶ γάρ τι ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ ἐμαυτῷ ἐπυνθανόμην (ὃς ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτελεύτησεν, ἁπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ πόλει), ὃς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξῄει ἐπὶ σχολῆς· ἔφη γὰρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον· τί γὰρ ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν (ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν) οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο, ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἦσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγόρου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν

γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ ἡλίσκοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες ἐκ εἰ πάντας παραπηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν παραλλάξαιεν. Τὸ δὲ νυνὶ γινόμενον πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ, ὥσπερ ἐπῳδὴν ἢ ἀλλότριόν τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι, πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. Ἤδη δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχρὸν ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε· μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μέν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ᾽ οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταὶ, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν· λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἐὰν ἄρα ποθ᾽ ἅψηται τοῦ πράγματος, ἐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐτόλμα δ᾽ ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζηνιεὺς, λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε· ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα ἑδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς (οἶμαι) σεμνυνόμενος. Ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἐξαμαρτάνοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα,

γράψαντά γε στεφανοῦν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἕνα τῶν συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἶλε, νεωστὶ γεγενημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογίζοντο οἱ δικασταί· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ, ὥσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν, οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γράφοντά τι. Ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον γίγνεται· οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν τὰς σιτήσεις τινὲς εὑρημένων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐξαιτοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γάρ τις ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσι, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν, ὑφ' ἧς τετίμηται. Τίς ἓν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ συνηγόρῳ δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι, ἐγὼ λέξω. Εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσίῃ γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἔγχειται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμήσει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμήσει τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὅρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν ἅπαξ αἰτήσαι οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ, οὔτ' αἰτηθέντα ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι. Κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτὸν, ἐάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν πρώτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν, ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν.

Ὅλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς μόνον τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγόρῳ συνηγόρους παρέχεσθαι, μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν παρανόμων φεύγοντι· οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μή, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν, ᾧ διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. Ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; ὅταν δὲ ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῇς κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων, κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

Τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. Ἐπειδὰν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβῃ καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται, ὑπομνήσατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι, ἐὰν δὲ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου ἐθέλετε ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δικαίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Ἐὰν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρακαλῇ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὃς

ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος "Εἰ καλέσω Δημοσθένην;" πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ "κάλει, κάλει·" καλῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς.

Ἂν δ' ἄρα ὑμῖν δόξῃ ἀκούειν, ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὅνπερ κἀγὼ κατηγόρηκα· ὧδέ πως (ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς)· οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τῷ Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων ἑδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄφθονα δήπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν (ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴην ἀπορώτατος)· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἀπέδειξα ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν, οὐδὲν προβαλόμενον, οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα "Ἐπειδὰν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας," ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. Δεύτερον δ' ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς διαῤῥήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναῤῥήσεως, καὶ τὸν τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν γίγνεσθαι, ἐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγῳδῶν εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων λέγω. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶ-

τον, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ (μέγιστον ὧν λέγω) τὸ ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. Ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαῦθίς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, ἑτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶτε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιΐστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει, εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε. Ἀλλ' ἃ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιῆσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι προειπεῖν. Ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιοτόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν· οὗτος κλαίει μὲν ῥᾷον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιορκεῖ δὲ πάντων προχειρότατα ἀνθρώπων· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι δὲ, εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος, τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λοιδορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους ἥκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγόρου βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικοὺς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος. Ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα λέγῃ, πρὸς μὲν τὸς σασιαστικοὺς λόγους ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, ὅτι, "Ὦ Δημόσθενες, εἴ σοι ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς

φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δημοκρατία κατέστη· νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγξάμενοι, ΜΗ ΜΝΗΣΙΚΑΚΕΙΝ· σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλόν σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως."

"Οταν δ' ἐπίορκος ὢν, εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὅρκων πίστιν καταφυγγάνῃ, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι, ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ὅρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεύεσθαι, δυοῖν θάτερον ὑπάρξαι δεῖ (ἂν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον), ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς, ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτούς. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ "Ποῖ καταφύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψετέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπη ἀναπτήσομαι," ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ, "ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγῃ, Δημόσθενες; ἢ πρὸς ποίαν συμμάχων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρῶμεν· ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ, ἐκ οἰκείας, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκήματα." Ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος; σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος, οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανεὶς ὁ

δῆμος, ἢ τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος, ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰπεῖν· "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι." Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκὼς μετ' ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ, μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φοβηθήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχὼν τῶν ἀρισείων, οἴκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσηται· ὃς τοσοῦτον καταγελᾷ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μιαρὰν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν ἔτος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε· καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε, τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφόμενος· καὶ κατακεκονδύλισαι, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἴχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην, βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι (ἵνα καὶ πεῖραν ὑμῶν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηροὺς, κἂν μή τις προείπῃ, διαγιγνώσκειν)· ὃ δ' ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. Περιέρχονται τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας, καὶ λόγους οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν ἃ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν φησι φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζει γὰρ δόξειν ἰδιώτης εἶναι), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους

ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαῤῥεῖν φησι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὴ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν, μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς, οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπολύσητε.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην, ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται, πολλὰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ. Οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν (ὡς ἔοικε) δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ, ἢ εἴ τινας δημηγορίας εἴρηκα, τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει, καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ (ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλίπηται), καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται· καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νὴ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διά τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυον, οὐδ' ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιὼν, ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐζήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι· οὔτε τοὺς εἰρη-

μένους ἐν υμῖν λόγους ἐμαυτῷ ἀῤῥήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν. Τὴν δ᾽ ἐμὴν σιωπὴν, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάῤ μοι μικρὰ, καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. Σὺ δ᾽, οἶμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας· λέγεις δὲ ἐχ ὁπόταν σοι δοκῇ οὐδ᾽ ἃ βούλει, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἃ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος. Ἀπηνέχθη γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφὴ, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με φῂς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι, οὔπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐνύπνιον ἑωρακότος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὴν Ἥραν νύκτωρ διειλεγμένου. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ; εἴ γε μὴ ταὐτὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθένης εἴδομεν. Ἐπιτιμᾷς δέ μοι, εἰ μὴ συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἴει λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἑτέρας πολιτείας. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ δυναστεύων κατηγορεῖ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ· καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λέγειν σημεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶ συμφέροντος, ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν παραλείπειν ἡμέραν, ἐργαζομένου καὶ μισθαρνοῦντος. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν καταφεύγῃς

στεφανῶσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἕνεκα στεφανῶνται. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, οταν τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ ποιῆται πρὸς τὸς Ἕλληνας. Μὴ ἓν ἡμῖν ὡς Παταικίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι διέξιθι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσι.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

"Τόσδ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα σεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἵ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκοις
Θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν
Ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι."

Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τὸς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτός φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. Ἐναυλον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τότε πᾶσιν, ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη, ἐπειδή τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖλον. Καὶ γάρ τι ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τῦ ἐμαυτῦ ἐπυνθανόμην (ὃς ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτελεύτησεν, ἁπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ πόλει), ὃς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξῄει ἐπὶ σχολῆς· ἔφη γὰρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον· τί γὰρ ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν (ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν) οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο, ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἦσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγόρου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν

γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ ἡλίσκοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες ἐκ εἰ πάντας παραπηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν παραλλάξαιεν. Τὸ δὲ νυνὶ γινόμενον πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ, ὥσπερ ἐπῳδὴν ἢ ἀλλότριόν τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι, πρὸς ἕτερῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. Ἤδη δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχρὸν ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε· μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μέν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ᾽ οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταὶ, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν· λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἐὰν ἄρα ποθ᾽ ἅψηται τοῦ πράγματος, ἐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐτόλμα δ᾽ ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζηνιεὺς, λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε· ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα ἑδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς (οἶμαι) σεμνυνόμενος. Ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἐξαμαρτάνοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα,

ταῖς Σειρῆσιν, ὡς ἔοικε· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαί φησι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μουσικήν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. Καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέπειν ὑγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν (τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰσχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδεῖξαι), εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ, μεγάλα μὲν τῇ πόλει κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐζηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύνοιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὁρᾷ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὑτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς διῴκηκεν. Ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγῃ, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; οὗ τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν, ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστι.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ πυθέσθαι πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέψαντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν· πότερον ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; ἀλλ' ἀδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρα εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθύναι βίᾳ, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λυπηρὸν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἡ ὀρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους

Ὅλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς μόνον τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγόρῳ συνηγόρους παρέχεσθαι, μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν παρανόμων φεύγοντι· οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μή, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν, ᾧ διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. Ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; ὅταν δὲ ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῇς κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων, κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

Τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. Ἐπειδὰν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβῃ καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται, ὑπομνήσατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι, ἐὰν δὲ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου ἐθέλετε ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δικαίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Ἐὰν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρακαλῇ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὃς

ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος "Εἰ καλέσω Δημοσθένην;" πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ "κάλει, κάλει·" καλῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς.

Ἂν δ' ἄρα ὑμῖν δόξῃ ἀκούειν, ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὅνπερ κἀγὼ κατηγόρηκα· ὧδέ πως (ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς)· οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τῷ Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄφθονα δήπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν (ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴην ἀπορώτατος)· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἀπέδειξα ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν, οὐδὲν προβαλόμενον, οὐδὲ προεγγράψαντα "Ἐπειδὰν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας," ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. Δεύτερον δ' ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς διαῤῥήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναῤῥήσεως, καὶ τὸν τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν γίγνεσθαι, ἐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγῳδῶν εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων λέγω. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶ-

τον, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ (μέγιστον ὧν λέγω) τὸ ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. Ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαῦθίς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, ἑτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τῷ λόγου μάχεσθε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶτε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιΐστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει, εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε. Ἀλλ' ἃ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιῆσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι προειπεῖν. Ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιοτόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν· οὗτος κλαίει μὲν ῥᾷον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιορκεῖ δὲ πάντων προχειρότατα ἀνθρώπων· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι δὲ, εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος, τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λοιδορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους ἥκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγόρου βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικοὺς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος. Ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα λέγῃ, πρὸς μὲν τὰς σασιαστικοὺς λόγους ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, ὅτι, "Ὦ Δημόσθενες, εἴ σοι ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς

φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ ἄν ποτε δημοκρατία κατέστη· νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγξάμενοι, ΜΗ ΜΝΗΣΙΚΑΚΕΙΝ· σὺ δὲ ἑλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλόν σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως."

Ὅταν δ' ἐπίορκος ὢν, εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὅρκων πίστιν καταφυγγάνῃ, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι, ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ὅρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεύεσθαι, δυοῖν θάτερον ὑπάρξαι δεῖ (ὧν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον), ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς, ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτούς. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ "Ποῖ καταφύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψετέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπη ἀναπτήσομαι," ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ, "ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγῃ, Δημόσθενες; ἢ πρὸς ποίαν συμμάχων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρῶμεν· ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ, ἐκ οἰκείας, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκήματα." Ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος; σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος, οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανεὶς ὁ

δῆμος, ἢ τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος, ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰπεῖν· "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι." Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκὼς μετ' ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ, μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φοβηθήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχὼν τῶν ἀριστείων, οἴκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσηται· ὃς τοσοῦτον καταγελᾷ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μιαρὰν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν ἔτος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε· καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε, τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφὰς γραφόμενος· καὶ κατακεκονδύλισται, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἴχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην, βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι (ἵνα καὶ πεῖραν ὑμῶν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηροὺς, κἂν μή τις προείπῃ, διαγιγνώσκειν)· ὃ δ' ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. Περιέρχονται τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας, καὶ λόγους οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν ἃ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν φησι φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζει γὰρ δόξειν ἰδιώτης εἶναι), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους

ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαῤῥεῖν φησι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὴ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν, μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς, οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπολύσητε.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην, ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται, πολλὰ δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ. Οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν (ὡς ἔοικε) δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, ἢ εἴ τινας δημηγορίας εἴρηκα, τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει, καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ (ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλίπηται), καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται· καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νὴ Δί᾽, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διά τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυον, οὐδ᾽ ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιὼν, ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐζήλωκα, οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι· οὔτε τοὺς εἰρη-

μένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἐμαυτῷ ἀῤῥήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν. Τὴν δ᾽ ἐμὴν σιωπὴν, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάῤ μοι μικρὰ, καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. Σὺ δ᾽, οἶμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας· λέγεις δὲ ἐχ ὁπόταν σοι δοκῇ οὐδ᾽ ἃ βούλει, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἃ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος. Ἀπηνέχθη γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφὴ, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με φῂς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι, οὔπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐνύπνιον ἑωρακότος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὴν Ἥραν νύκτωρ διειλεγμένου. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ; εἴ γε μὴ ταὐτὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθένης εἴδομεν. Ἐπιτιμᾷς δέ μοι, εἰ μὴ συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἴει λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἑτέρας πολιτείας. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ δυναστεύων κατηγορεῖ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ· καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λέγειν σημεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶ συμφέροντος, ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν παραλείπειν ἡμέραν, ἐργαζομένου καὶ μισθαρνοῦντος. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν καταφεύγῃς

ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπιλήσμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζῃ. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἠσεβημένα σοι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων ἐγγεγενημένων, ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐξηλέγχου, ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἁρπάγματα τίς ἂν ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος δύναιτ' ἄν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων νεῶν, καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιστάτην τάξαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτικῶν τριηράρχους ὑφῃρημένος, πλεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀφανίζων ναυτικὸν ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας, ὥστε τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιοῦσι, πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δέ τινας ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως καιροὺς, ἀεὶ τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελλόμενος. Οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὠρείτου κατεσκεύασας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα διεστρέβλωσας τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρὶ, γράψας αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι; καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας, καίτοι παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατήγου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ ἔσπεισας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος. Καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἠρνήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπε-

κρίνου, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης. Ἐπισολὰς δὲ σιγῶ ψευδεῖς καὶ κατασκόπων συλλήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ᾽ αἰτίαις ἀνυπάρκτοις, ὡς ἐμοῦ μετά τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει νεωτερίζειν βουλομένου. Ἔπειτα ἐπερωτᾷν με (ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι) μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνδατα, διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιὴς ἂν ἐγένετο. Σαυτὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀντερωτᾷς, τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος, ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀποδοῖτο, τοὺς δ᾽ εὖ φρονοῦντας κωλύοι διαβάλλων συμβουλεύειν, ἀποδρὰς δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλὼν, ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς μηδὲν, πάντων δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονὼς, ἐπερωτᾷ δὲ τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν, ὅτ᾽ ἐνῆν σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν; ἀποκρίνοιντο δὴ τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης ἐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖς καταγέλαστον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν, ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

Καὶ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, (ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι Δημοσθένην λέξειν) ἐφ᾽ ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα· ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν

ταῖς Σειρῆσιν, ὡς ἔοικε· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαί φησι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μουσικήν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. Καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέπειν ὑγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν (τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰσχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδεῖξαι), εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ, μεγάλα μὲν τῇ πόλει κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐζηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύνοιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὁρᾷ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὑτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς διῴκηκεν. Ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγῃ, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; οὗ τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν, ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστι.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ πυθέσθαι πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέψαντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν· πότερον ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; ἀλλ' ἐδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρα εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθύναι βίᾳ, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λυπηρὸν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἡ ὀρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους

πολιτευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνεσθε, ἕτος δὲ κηρυχθήσεται; καὶ εἰ μέν τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισιόντων, ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τὸν Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ συκοφάντην· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανῶτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ ἔνδοξα καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνετίθεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἴεται δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περιθεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἐστὲ, καλῶς ποιοῦντες· ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέναι; καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων γραφὰς ἁλισκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ πολιτευόμενον σύνιστε, στεφανώσετε; καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διονυσίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν κριταὶ καθεστηκότες, ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε; ἔπειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτὴς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ πεποιηκὼς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα. Ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένῃ, νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἑτέρῳ ταῦτα παραδῷ, καταλέλυκεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ δυναστείαν. Ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὅρκος, ὃν ὀμωμοκὼς δικάζει, συμπα-

ρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ (δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ, οἶμαι, γέγονε τὸ ἁμάρτημα), ἡ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἄδηλος γεγένηται· ἡ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφότερα καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προΐεσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρὰ, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦμεν. Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, αἳ ῥᾳδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον· ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. Ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὗς ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε κατέλυσαν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, καὶ πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, πρὶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι, ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τὸς προσήκοντας παραγενέσθαι. Οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἕξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε τὸς νῦν ἐπηρμένους; ἐ μέμνησθ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε πρότερον ἐπέθετο τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει πρὶν ἂν μείζω τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ;

Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀναλογισαίμην ἐναντίον ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις (ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω), ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου· τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξειργάσθαι καλῶς, τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρα-

κώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς τάφρους, οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθῇ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δὲ ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν, ὡς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὸν κόμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τὰς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῇς Δημοσθένει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾷς, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰδότας καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. Ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων, δι᾽ ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, οἴει λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθένει περιτιθείς. Ἡλίκον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀλαζόνευμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἃ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, κατέπεμψε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν ᾗ τά τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ᾽ ἀπαιδεύτως διελέχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, "Ἐγὼ (φησὶν) ὑμῖν χρυσίον ἃ δώσω, μή με αἰτεῖτε, ἃ γὰρ λήψεσθε·" ἦτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς, ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰτούντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἑκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο· ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμάχων· τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐξειργάζετο. Σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων

ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς ἡμῖν ἀεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσιωπᾷς, ἃ προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέρησας. Οὐ δι' ἔνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων, ἕνεκα πέντε ταλάντων οἱ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρέδοσαν; διὰ ἐννέα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, πάντων Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἑτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν, ἡ πρᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται; σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς· καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. Εἰ γὰρ τολμήσειε Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὅτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοι, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. Ὅπου γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἂν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δ' ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκέων;

Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, ἐὰν σωφρονῇς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποίησαι δὲ, ὦ Κτησιφῶν, διὰ σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σκήψῃ, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπόν σοι συμβαίνοι, εἰ πρώην μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας πρεσβευτὴς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα, χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσθησόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. Ἔπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν ἀλλοτρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογήσῃ; ἢ τοιοῦτός

ἐστιν ὃν γέγραφας στεφανῶσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἂν μή τίς σοι συνείπῃ; ἐπερώτησον δὴ τὰς δικαστὰς, εἰ ἐγίνωσκον Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πυθῶ παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔστησαν; ἅπαντες γὰρ ἅμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται, ὅτι Χαβρίᾳ μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικράτει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλουν τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ ἄλλοις, ὧν ἑκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔργα πέπρακται. Δημοσθένει δ' ἀντεροῦ διὰ τί δώσετε; ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλὸς, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε. Καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμήσετε, ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμώσετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας; οὓς νομίζεθ' ὁρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας, εἰ οὗτος στεφανωθήσεται. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἐὰν ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ τινα, ὑπερορίζομεν, καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσηται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν, Δημοσθένην δὲ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν πανυστάτην ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς τιμήσετε· οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ τελευτήσαντες, ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίγνονται, ὁρῶντες τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν.

Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐὰν ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς ποῖον παράδειγμα χρὴ αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, τί ἀποκρινεῖσθε; εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαῖστραι, οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα, οὐδ' ἡ μουσικὴ μόνον

παιδεύει τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα. Κηρύττεταί τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας, ἄνθρωπος ἀσχήμων ὢν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυρός; ὁ δέ γε νεώτερος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν διεφθάρη· δίκην τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ πορνοβοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτησιφῶν; οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πεπαίδευνται· τἀναντία τις ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν; ὁ δέ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νουθετεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη δικαίως ὀνομάζεται. Ὡς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί ἐδικάζετε. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη δόξει ἡ πόλις εἶναι, ὁποῖός τις ἂν ᾖ ὁ κηρυττόμενος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀνανδρίᾳ προσεικασθῆναι. Πῶς ἕν ἄν τις τὴν τοιαύτην αἰσχύνην ἐκφύγοι; ἐὰν τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους ὄντας τοῖς ἤθεσι, φυλάξησθε· ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια καὶ τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες. Ὅταν οὖν λάβητε ῥήτορα ξενικῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν κελεύετε καὶ τὸν λόγον (ὥσπερ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι) εἰς βίον ἀξιόχρεων καὶ τρόπον σώφρονα· ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἤδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς.

Ἢ οὐ δεινὸν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παροραῶται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ αἱ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνῶνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἐξαρνοῦνται πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀλλήλοις παραναγινώσκουσιν· καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῖν οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἕτεροι δ' αἰτῶσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως ὄντες· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακὼς ἢ παρανοίας ἑαλωκὼς, αὐτὸ μόνον τὄνομα τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων ἑτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. Ἔπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐράνων τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι.

Ὅτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. Ἐγένετό τις (ἄχθομαι δὲ μεμνημένος πολλάκις τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν μόνον εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας, ὡς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐζημιώθη. Ἕτερος δ' ἰδιώτης ἐκπλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάνδρως ἤνεγκε, πρώην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλθη, καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἂν, ἢ ἀπέθανεν. Ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νυνὶ γιγνόμενον. Ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι οἴεται δεῖν. Οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς κοινὴν

τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰν, ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς λῃστὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ᾽ ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. Ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ᾽ ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς· δόξετε δὲ, ἐὰν μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν δὲ τοὐναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.

Μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας τῆς πόλεως βουλεύεσθε· καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε, ἀλλὰ κρίνετε· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ ἀξιολογωτέρους ἄνδρας ἀπόθεσθε. Καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὠσὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλεύσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει· πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται, ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ᾽ ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ; ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, οὐχ ὃς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελούμενος διατετέλεκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τὲς τὰς ἀσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται.

Ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῇ Βυζάντιον μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου, ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, ἐκπλῆξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας (οἴεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθὼ τρέφοντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει), ὅταν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοι-

κωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῇ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὗ νῦν ἕστηκας ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας· Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν, σωφρόνως (ὥσπερ προσῆκεν αὐτῷ) δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων· Ἀρισείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν (οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος) σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα, εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ οἱ μὲν πατέρες ὑμῶν, Ἄρθμιον τὸν Ζελείτην, κομίσαντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρ᾽ οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐξεκήρυξαν δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἁπάσης ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὐ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτημένον, χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ μέλλετε στεφανοῦν· Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τῶν προγόνων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε ἀνασενάξαι, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀντιπράξαι στεφανωθήσεται;

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἴν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ᾗ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγόρηκα, εἶπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην· εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. Ὑμεῖς

δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

Ἢ, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

ΤΕΓΧΟΣ μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων περὶ Χάλκης, τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροηθῶν ἀρπαγιστηρόν τι καὶ βέλτιον, τήν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν, καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὀχυρώσας, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινι συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τῇ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποίητον περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. Πεισονηκότος γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτό, ἠρίθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἑκάστης εἷς, οἷς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ψιλὴν παρέχεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. Εἷς τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρείᾳ· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει.

Ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην ἡ βουλὴ, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμείψατο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ· ἕτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δ' ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν, ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν παιρῷ τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὓς ἡ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε, καὶ τούτων ἑναντίον ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα, ὅτι στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα ἡ πόλις, ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν. Ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἡ τιμὴ θαυμαστὴ, διὸ καὶ ὁ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἥψατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνίχθη παρανόμων γραφή.

Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λίγων, ἄρχοντα γιγνόμενον τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύειν, τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν· καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρεγχόμενος τὸν λέγοντα, ἐὰν μέν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στέφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ βουλὴ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ στεφανοῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει.

Καὶ τάξει γε ταύτῃ τῆς κατηγορίας Αἰσχίνης εἴχρηται, τρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου, καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε τεχνικῶς πως· δεῖ γὰρ ἄρχεσθαί τι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τίθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. Καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιστίθησι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἤτοι νόμου μέρος, ὃς φησιν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο ψηφίσηται.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ "Ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι." Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδὲν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προῄρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα. Ἓν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ τέτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν·

ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. Ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλεῖον ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις, ἀδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι, καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες· καὶ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. Ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τῶ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες."

Ἀκούετε, ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι "Ταῦτ' ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων· ὥστ' εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε·" οὐ τέτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ᾤχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδοτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματ' ἐκεῖνον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. Ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι Θηβαῖοι κέχρηνται. Ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς, καὶ ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά· καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων· ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς

φαίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, ἐκ ἑνὶ τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων, καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξηται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσηται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι· καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ᾽ ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχίνης, κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐκ ἐλάττω λόγον, τἄλλα διεξιὼν, ἀνάλωκε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα, βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος, ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων, ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. Εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον, οἷον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν), μηδὲ

φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ᾽ εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπερευπεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνασάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων (ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω) χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τάτῳ μὲν μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε, δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ᾽ ἐπλάττετο· ἐμοὶ δ᾽, ἢν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. Κακοήθης δ᾽ ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης, τὰς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με, πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο, οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, ἃ κατεψεύδω καὶ διέβαλες, αὐτίκα ἐξετάσω· τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην ἐτῶσι γεγενημένης, ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ᾖ τούτοις ἀκούειν, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι τάττουσι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ, ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. Τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἐγγύς. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν· οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν, οὔτε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὀρθῶς ἔχον, οὔτε πολιτικὸν, οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἔώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὗσί γε

ἐν Σικυῶνι; καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερῥιμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ᾽ ἄν τις ἴδοι, ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, καὶ πλεῖστα τούτοις ἀντιλέγων, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι, τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν, ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι. Αἴτιος δὲ ἅπας, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τὰς νεωτέρας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. Παρηνώχλησθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως οἱ, καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ ὁτιοῦν εἰπεῖν, εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν· καίτοι φιλίαν τε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων· "Ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί." Ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι, ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον, οὔτ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἴποιμ᾽ ἂν ἐγώ σε· οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας, φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Πόθεν; πολλῆ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. Εἰ δ᾽ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς· μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἐγὼ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. Πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μίσθωτος Αἰσχίνης, ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου δοκεῖ; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσι;

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις ἴδοι, οὔτε δικαίως, οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα. Βέλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. Ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι ὑμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε, ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιῶν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο. Ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει· καὶ οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον, ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸς, ἔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες, κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν· ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν Ἕλλησιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. Ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ), τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων, πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνεν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. Ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι, φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵνα

μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. Τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν, ὀλίγα δεῖν, ἑκόντας ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν· οἳ, πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν. Οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι, ἑτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη, διὰ ταῦτα οὐ δι' ἐμὲ, ὡς ἅπας διέβαλεν, ἐπράχθη. Τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ, τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως, αἴτια εὑρήσει. Καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι· εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τινα δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδικήματα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, Ἀριστόδημος ἦν, ὁ ὑποκριτής· ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα, Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς, οὐκ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαῤῥαγῇς ψευδόμενος· οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες, ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε ἐν τῷ παρόντι), Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.

Ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκειν ἀναιδείας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι, ἔτι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς

εἴην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι· εἶτ', ὦ — τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρὼν, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡλίκην νῦν ἐτραγῴδεις καὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἠγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν, ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν κατηγορεῖς, ἐδίδαξας ἢ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν, εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾷν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλᾶν τουτοισί. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα τότε ἀπεσταλμένη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' ὅτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τέτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον, οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι. Τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκοῦν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν ὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, ὅτε τῶν ἄλλων ἀδὲν ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὂν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ

Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα, βουλεύων, ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν. Οὗτοι δὲ, οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ, ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. Τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον, ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. Διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε μόνον ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου· ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων (ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθὲς), ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἕξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα τὴν εἰρήνην. Ἃ ἐγὼ προορώμενος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος, τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾖ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν· ἵν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, τὰ χωρία ταῦθ', ἃ νῦν ἕτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μύρτιον καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιντ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, κύριος τῆς Θρᾴκης κατασταίη· μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας, ἐκ τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν. Εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾤμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ

προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἥκοντας ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν, ἢ θέαν αὐτοῖς μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. Τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι Φιλίππῳ; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς ἅπας εἰδὼς παρέβη. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ, ἣ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε· τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν, μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὡμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρων συμμάχους. Πρέσβεις ᾑρέθησαν, Εὔβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνέσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης."

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ τῷ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις ἅτοι, καθῆντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θρᾴκης, πάντα καταστρεψάμενος τἀκεῖ, ἐξὸν ἡμε-

ρῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφῖχθαι, καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι λαβόντας τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἥψατ᾽ αὐτῶν, παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὡρκίζομεν αὐτόν· ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερα εἶχε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον, κλέμμα μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις.

Ἕτερον δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τότε μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὡμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος ἕξειν, προλαβὼν τὴν Θρᾴκην διὰ τούτους, οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωσιν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἕως ἂν τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο· ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρο ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας, ὥσπερ πρότερον, κλείσοιτε τὸν πορθμὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἀκούοιτε ταῦτ᾽ ἀπαγγελλόντων ὑμῖν τότων κἀκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. Οὕτω δ᾽ ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ, καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ἀκούσαντες ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν, ὥστε πάλιν μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίᾳ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι᾽ ὧν ἅπαντ᾽ ἀπώλετο. Ἀξιῶ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες

Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι ὑμᾶς παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι, μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς, ἀδ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον ἀδέ-να ἐποιούμην ἕτερον· ἁπάσαις δ᾽ αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφη-μίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου, ἀνάγκη κἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι᾽ οὓς ἅπαντ᾽ ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα βούλεσθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος τοὐναντίον αὐτὸν ἐχθρόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιῶν (μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων), ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι, τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀσμένως τινὲς ἦκουον αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τόθ᾽ ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ εὐθύς; ἐκ εἰς μακρὰν τοὺς μὲν ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας, μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν· καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. Ὅτι δ᾽ οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ταῦτ᾽ ἔσται φανερά. Λέγε.

φαίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, ἐκ ἑνὶ τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων, καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξηται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσηται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι· καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ᾽ ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχίνης, κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐκ ἐλάττω λόγον, τἄλλα διεξιὼν, ἀνάλωκε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα, βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος, ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων, ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. Εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον, οἷον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν), μηδὲ

φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπερευπεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων (ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω) χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε, δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο· ἐμοὶ δ', ἢν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. Κακοήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης, τὰς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με, πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο, οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλες, αὐτίκα ἐξετάσω· τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην ἑτωσὶ γεγενημένης, ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ᾖ τούτοις ἀκούειν, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι τάττουσι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ, ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. Τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν· οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν, οὔτε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὀρθῶς ἔχον, οὔτε πολιτικὸν, οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε

καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι, μηδὲ ἃ ποιῶν ἠδίκει, μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ. Οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι, παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ πρὸξένεις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις, ὡς ἐχθρὸς, καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας, ἀπήλασε· σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδὲν, ὃ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ λέγων, ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. Ἀλλ' οὐ σύ γε· ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσῃ δὲ οὐδέποτε, ἐὰν μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν, ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.

Στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς, ἅσπερ οὑτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναῤῥηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τότε γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν, οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, Γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάῤῥιος εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δε-

δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. Εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος."

Ἔστιν ἓν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην συμβᾶσαν τῇ πόλει διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν, ὅταν ἡ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας· φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας. Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων· τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι· τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους, ὡς ἀγαθῶν τότων ὄντων, ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι (κἂν διαῤῥαγῶσί τινες τούτων) ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. Ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθα ἐπεισάκτῳ, βαλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπείας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, Βυζαντίους, συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον,

οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι (λέγοντες ἀληθῆ), χαρακώματα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει, καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. Ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν εἴπω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. Τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων, καὶ ἁπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἡλίκα ταῦτ' ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἐκ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε. Ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος, ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγαγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ, ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν· ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς, οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι, τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προῄρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

"Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχω, Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἁλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἔν τε τοῖς προγενομένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χάριτας παρέσχηται ἔν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ, Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος

ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ᾽ ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων, καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοισιν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὁπλίταις, ἐξείλετο ἄμμε ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμως καὶ τὼς τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων, Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ ἱερά· καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν, ἀλειτουργήτοις ἦμεν πᾶσαν προσέτι λειτουργίαν· ϛᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαιδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρύξαι τῷ ϛεφάνῳ ᾧ συϛεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιϛέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες πάντες, Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν, καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν."

Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ϛεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

"Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα· καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἱδρύονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν πράττων γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου, καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ

ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. Ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ."

Οὐκοῦν, οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων, ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξε τήν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκἀγαθίαν, καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. Ὁ μέν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις, πολιορκῶν αὐτὸς ἑωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων· ἇ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον ἢ μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως, περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε· ἐξ ὧν, δόξαν εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. Καὶ μήν, ὅτι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐστεφανώκατε ἤδη τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δὲ ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω, μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἓν ἢ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ, πρὸς τὰ

κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν.

Ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἁλίαρτον· καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πολλὰ ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις, τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ᾽ ἐγγύς. Καίτοι τότε ταῦτ᾽ ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, ἔθ᾽ ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν, οὔτε ἀκίνδυνα ἑώρων· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προεῖντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὑτοὺς διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. Πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ, γενναίως.

Ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ᾽ ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ᾽ εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. Καὶ γάρ τοι, πᾶσι τοῖς

Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τούτων ἐδείξατε, ὅτι, κἂν ὁτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτῃ, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τἆλλα ἔχετε· ἂν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτὸς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ᾽ ὑπολογιεῖσθε.

Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον ἅτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὔβοιαν, οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ᾽ ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ᾽ ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τριηραρχῶν τότε πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ· ἀλλ᾽ ἔπω περὶ τούτων. Καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ᾽ ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τό, καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων, ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε, ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι.

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζὰς, στρατείας, καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας, καὶ νῦν ἐφ᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἁπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεχ᾽ Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται.

Εἶτ᾽ ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς συμβουλῆς οὔσης, τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακήσειν, νὴ Δία, πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι᾽ ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα τὰ συμφέροντα; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρη-

σα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐποιήσατε, ἀκριβῶς ἐγὼ οἶδα· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. Ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους, ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν, τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑσερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν, τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσα ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' (ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον) ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα· καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν παρανόμων, εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβε. Καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν, ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναί με τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβαλόντα με ἐᾶν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων, συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου, τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἔκτος καὶ δέκατος ὢν πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἐπωνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. Ὥστε δὴ

ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν τε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποθοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρατέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων γραφὴν Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεὺς, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβών, ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς."

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

"Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους."

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

"Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα. Ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ᾖ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν, ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω· κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω, καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα."

Ἆρά γε μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ; ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν ἐθέλειν, τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν, οἱ πλούσιοι; ἐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. Πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος ἐδεὶς πώποτε ὡς ἀδικέμενος παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἐκ ἐν Μενυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη· οὐ τριήρης οὔτ᾽ ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ᾽ αὐτῶ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. Καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνετο. Τὸ δ᾽ αἴτιον ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν, τῷ λειτουργεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ᾽ οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο.

Καὶ μὴν, καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προῃρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἅμα δόξαι, καὶ τιμαὶ, καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. Ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἱλόμην· οὔτ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα, ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.

Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. Τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ

ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον, καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλῶσθαί μοι νομίζω. Καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν, ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν· εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστου τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, ἅτε, μὰ τὸς θεοὺς, οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς. Ἁπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι.

Τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν, ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος (ὃ νῦν οὗτος πολλάκις διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο), ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ἂν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν· ὧν μέντοι γ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι· ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη; οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὢν τύχῃ. Τίς γάρ ἐσι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον, τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς δήπου. Εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ ϛέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀλλ' ἔτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι, ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὢν, ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, "Ἐπῆνεσεν αὐτόν (φησιν)

ἡ βουλὴ, ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα." Οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενὸς, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ συκοφάντα.' "Ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθά," φησι. Καὶ διὰ αὐτό γε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἐπῃνούμην, ὅτι τὰ ἀνηλωμένα ἐπέδωκα, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς, εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται· ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ, χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν. Διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὀδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

Ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν. Εἶθ' ὅτι τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε, καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο. Εἶθ' οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος, πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπισάτης ὤν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. Σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι, ἢ διδόναι τὰ ἑαυτῶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσαι, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν, εὐθύνας ὑφέξειν. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε μοι τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα λαβὼν αὐτά. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεὺς, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι, Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῳ, καὶ βοηθέντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φιάλωνος, τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου, διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μι-

σθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε, καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς."

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη. Ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Λιότιμος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Λιότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι, καὶ Διονυσίοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας."

Τέτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἦρχεν, ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανῶτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπτα. Ἐπέδωκα, καὶ ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὑπεύθυνος ὢν ἐπέδωκα· ἦρχον, καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα, νὴ Δία. Ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρὼν, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταὶ, διὰ τί οὐ κατηγόρεις;

Ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτε, ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ, ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον, τὸ γραφέν μοι. Οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συνωφαντῶν φανήσεται. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, Πυανεψιῶνος ἐννάτῃ

ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηΐδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς, γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς, καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα, ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ καταστὰς, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκἀγαθίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην."

Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. Τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι, παρανόμων γράφῃ; ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς, καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως, ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη, πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν, περὶ τοῦ γε ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παραλείπω, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον· ἀλλὰ, πρὸς θεῶν, οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι λογίσασθαι, ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅποι ἂν ἀναῤῥηθῇ· τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πό-

λιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφε. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

"Οσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι."

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, "Πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, τούτους δὲ ἀναγορεύεσθαι;" τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ, φθόνε δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς, καὶ νόμους, τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὀμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν, λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἶτα οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς, κομιζόμενος· ἢ λέγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. Καὶ βοᾷς, ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης, ἃ σοι καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι· τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν, βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ

ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. Οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπείληφα, οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, κακῶς τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλοις· ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἠδικηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ἀδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ, πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. Ἤδη δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας.

Πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν, ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν δηλονότι. Εἶτα, ἃ μὲν ἦν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλιπες ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· ἃ δ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῷος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις τούτων πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτ᾽ ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ᾽ ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; Ὅρα, μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι δέδεικται· δεῖ δέ με (ὡς ἔοικε) καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας, ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν, αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ἂν καὶ τίνων, ῥᾳδίως ἅτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι; εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς, ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς, ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν,

οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλέμενον, ᾗ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς, τίς μετουσία, ἢ τίς διάγνωσις τῶν τοιούτων; πόθεν λαβόντι, ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι; ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειε· τοῖς δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δὲ ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν ὅταν λέγωσιν, ἐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ. Πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ, τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σε τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ, τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωϊ, χρωμένη, τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Λίωνος τῆ Φρεαρρίᾳ δοῦλος, ἀνέσησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ, νὴ τὸν Λία καὶ τὼς θεοὺς, οὐκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων, αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προῤῥῆσθαι λόγους. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω· ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ, ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν, ἄρξομαι.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ὧν ἔτυχεν, ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. Ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε — ὀψὲ λέγω, χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην, ἅμα Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε· καὶ

δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς, τὸν μὲν πατέρα, ἀντὶ Τρόμητος, ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον· τὴν δὲ μητέρα, σεμνῶς πάνυ, Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἣν Ἐμποῦσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν. Πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν;

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ὅτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστε, ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς, οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τετωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. Καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστί τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν τὰ ὑμέτερα, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ, καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ, τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων, καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησε. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν ᾧ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα, ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος· καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς, ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί. Νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον.

Τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὰ τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ

(ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας, ἀφ' ἧσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν), ὡς προείλεσθε κἀκείνην καὶ κυρίαν τῶ πράγματος ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερίδην δὲ λέγειν προσέταξε· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαρῷ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

"Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων οἵδε· Καλλίας Σουνιεὺς, Ζήνων Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερίδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν· καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερίδης."

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε, τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν, ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν. Ἓν μὲν τοίνυν τῶτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τῶ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε.

Ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων ἁπάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότ' ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἶξα οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον, καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ πρὸδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερῶς οὕτως, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος

δὲ συνηγωνίζετο, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ. Καὶ ἐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. Καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ σύνηει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

"Κελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερίδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου, μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει, καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν, καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. Αἵδε αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου."

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ, παραλείπω· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει· πολλά γ' ἐγὼ νῦν ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, δι' ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη· ἀλλ' ἃ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην, οὐδ' ἣν προσῆκεν ὀργήν· ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε (ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ) πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος, τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. Διόπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν, ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τῶ πολεμεῖν, φανερῶς συναγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ, δεινὸν μὲν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, (πῶς γὰρ οὔ;) κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. Δότε δὲ, εἰ βέλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύετ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος· ὅ τι μὲν οὖν τοτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὑτοσὶ ἰαμβειογράφος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. Καίτοι, δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν, μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα, μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω. Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακὸν ὑμᾶς; ἔμενουν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύνατο (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἡ πόλις, ἃ ποιῶν ετος ἐλάνθανεν· ἓν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές· τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· ἐχ ἕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς. Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι

εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς

πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι, καὶ εἶπον τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων)· εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκα, αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι. Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι, καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτωσὶ σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ἧττος ἐλάττων ὑποληφθῇ· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι, τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος, καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἧττός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας, καὶ πάντων εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. Καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· "Πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν·" οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον, καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. Ἥτις δὲ ἡ φύσις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη, καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε. Καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν· καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσασθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ πέρας ἐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ, καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ, ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν, οὔτ' εἰσήγετο, ὧν ἐδεῖτο, αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κρείττων τότε ὑμῶν, οὔτε εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς, μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων, μήτε Θηβαίων διϊέντων. Συνέβαινε δ' αὐτῷ, τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τὰς ὁποίας δήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγοὺς (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις, κακοπαθεῖν. Εἰ μὲν ἓν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκεν ἔχθρας, ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν, ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθῇ, ῥᾷον ἤλπιζε, τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. Τί οὖν ἐπιχειρεῖ; θεάσασθε ὡς εὖ· πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτῷ δεήσεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τῶν τοῦτον ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμμάχων εἰσηγεῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι· ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖός ᾖ, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε; μισθοῦται τουτονί. Οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐδὲ φυλάττοντος (ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι), προβληθεὶς Πυλαγόρας

οὗτος, καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν, ἀνερρήθη. Ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδὼν, ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη. Καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν, ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων, καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἠτιᾶτο εἶναι· ἀδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. Γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν· οὐκ ἐνῆν, ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου, τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντελέσασθαι· τίς ἂν ἐκλήτευσεν ὑμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ.

Περιϊόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ, μικροῦ μὲν ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. Ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τὸς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἦγαγε στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἦ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν, καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ

ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι. Τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἠρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς, δύναμιν συλλέξας, καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ καὶ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. Εἰ μὲν ἦν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθὺς Θηβαῖοι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε. Νῦν δὲ τότε γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη, δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε. Λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

"Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν, καὶ σπείρουσι, καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς Πυλαγόρας καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν."

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

"Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρα, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι, καὶ βοσκήματα νέμεσι· καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοι-

νὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιΐδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἱροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων."

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ, καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. Λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

"Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ."

Λοὺς δή μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος· ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο· κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. Ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις παραδὺς αὐτῷ, ἕτος ἦν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

"Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι, χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ, οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν

βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Λῴου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, Πανέμῳ. Τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν συναντήσασι παρδημεὶ, χρησόμεθα συμβούλοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ προσθεμένοις, ἐπιζημίοις. Εὐτυχεῖτε."

Ὅρᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει; τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιὸντες, ὡς ὑφ' ἑνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. Οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνὸς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὗτός ἐστιν· ὃν, εἰ μηδὲν ἐνλαβηθέντα τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἁπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων. Ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχὼν, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. Ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ ἐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀγωνιζομένῳ, εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι, ἀφῖχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκα εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

Ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου πραττόντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐᾶν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας, καὶ ἁδὲ καθὲν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γενήσεται, παρατηρῶν διετέλουν· ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα, καὶ πάλιν Εὔβουλον, πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς, εἰς τοῦτο ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί· οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὦ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ κατηγορῶν. Ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾷς ἐμοὶ, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων.

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τοῦτον μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἅπερ ἕνεκα τὰς πόλεις ἅπαντες συνέκρουον· καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόῤῥω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

" Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθηΐδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ· ἐπειδὴ Φίλιπ-

πος, τινὰς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται, καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν, μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. Ἠρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν."

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

"Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Μουνιχιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ· ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται. Καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. Ἠρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος· καὶ κήρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου."

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

"Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπεδὴν ποιεῖσθε, προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς. Βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων, καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἑσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα, συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε, καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' ἐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμεληκότες. Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις, καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἄν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες, τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. Ἔρρωσθε."

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

"Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν, βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. Πρότερον μὲν ἦν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον, ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι, καὶ ἑπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει· νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἑπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην· καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ·

ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. Ἐρρῶσθε."

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τέτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἄν, εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἔτι συμπνευσόντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα.

Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν· ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ἐς τὰς πρυτάνεις, ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν, εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες, τούς τε ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐξεῖργον, καὶ τὰ γέῤῥα ἐνεπίμπρασαν· οἱ δὲ, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε· καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι, πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλὴ, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον, κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν· ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ· "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται;" παρῆν δ' ἐδείς. Πολλάκις δὲ τῆ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, ἐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατο οὐδείς, ἁπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐρῆνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· (ἦν γὰρ ὁ κήρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι.)

Καίτοι, εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε (πάντες γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε)· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλέτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. Ἀλλ' (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, ὃ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς, τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ τί βουλόμενος. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, μήτ' ἐξητακὼς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὔτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν, οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. Ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν· ἑνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς· ἑτέρου δὲ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον, πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθε ἐμπειρότεροι.

Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι, "Τὰς μὲν, ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων φίλων Φιλίππῳ, λίαν θορυβουμένους, ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγματ' ἡγοῦμαι. Εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. Ὅτι μέντοι, ἵν' ἕτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις, ἥκει,

σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι· ὡς δ᾽ ἔχει ταῦτα (ἔφην) ἀκήσατέ μου. Ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας ἠὐτρέπισται· τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ, καὶ νῦν ἐναντιωμένους, οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφε; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας, καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπᾶραι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν᾽ ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες, ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν προαιρησόμεθα ἡμεῖς (ἔφην) ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι, μὴ, προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ, καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. Ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτέ μοι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν, περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω, γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν, καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. Τί οὖν φημὶ δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον· εἶτα μεταθέσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων (πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσὶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ὁ κίνδυνος)· ἔπειτ᾽ ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσίναδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παῤῥησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ᾽ ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς

ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἕτοιμοι, καὶ βοηθήσετε, ἄν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. Μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ ἐκεῖσε βαδίζειν, καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. Ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ, παραινῶ, πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν· μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προορωμένων· ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διῳκημένοι, καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν· ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ πεπραγμένον."

Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν, κατέβην. Συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων, καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν, οὐκ, εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδὲ, ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδὲ, ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τὸς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

Καίτοι, τίνα βούλει σε, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις Βάταλον; σὲ δὲ μηδὲ ἥρωα τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην, ἢ Κρέ-

οντα, ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολυττῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάταλος, Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ, πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. Σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν ἠδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

"Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, Σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος, ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τὰς ὅρκους, καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔσας, δορυαλώτους πεποίηκεν, ἐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι, ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων Βαρβάρους κατοικίζει, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, ἐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν ἔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος, οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας· καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους, καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἔλαττον εἶναι τὸ εἰς

αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, τὰς μὲν ὑβριζομένας, τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης, τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταδουλουμένους· διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσίναδε ἐξάγειν· πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους, διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας· παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτούς, μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν, εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει, καὶ δυνάμεσι, καὶ χρήμασι, καὶ βέλεσι, καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἕλλησι, καλόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι, ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης, καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. Ἔτι δὲ, οὐδ' ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον, οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ, οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ· ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θη-

βαίων προγόνων εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνοις· καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν, καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας, ὑπεδεξάμεθα· καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους. Διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων· συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν."

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ.

"Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς, Ὑπερίδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεὺς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης."

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ, καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη· τὰ πρὸ τούτων, εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. Ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ, πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὑτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ, σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων.

τῶν κακῶν, τὰ πρότερον – Wf.

τῶν ξυμβάντων W.

Illud igitur, ut dixi, tempus fuit, quod virum requirebat de republica solicitum deque salutaribus consiliis (proferendis.)

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως, εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. Εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. Εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι, μήτε ἦν, μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἑλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τῷ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;" οὐ, "τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων;" οὐδὲ, "τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι;" σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἐγὼ παρελθὼν, ἔλεγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον, εἰπὲ, τίς ἦ λόγος, ὅντινα ἐχρῆν εὑρεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί; ἀλλὰ μὴν, τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν, τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν· ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβαίνοντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δὴ τοῦθ' ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τὴν μάχην (ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί)· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπανθ' ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ

φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ᾽ ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. Εἰ δ᾽ ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς, ἢ χειμὼν, μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ᾽ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι· εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον, καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν, ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῷτο. Ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἄν· ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο (ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ᾽ ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς); καὶ εἰ νῦν τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἆρ᾽ οἴεσθε ὅτι νῦν ἐνῆν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι; πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει. Τότε δὲ — ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ὧν γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὔνοια, καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς. Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους· ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν κατάπτυστον, βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει μοι λόγος.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτε ἐβουλεύετο ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς, ἢ ἐγώ σου; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγώ σου πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἃ λέγω (καὶ ἔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, ἀδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον, οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος. Σὺ δὲ οὔθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὔτε εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον ἀδὲν σεαυτὸν παρέσχες· ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι. Καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ, καὶ Ἀριστόλαος ἐν Θάσσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους, καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. Καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος, ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι· δηλοῖς δὲ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς, καὶ ποιεῖς, καὶ πολιτεύῃ, καὶ πάλιν ἀ πολιτεύῃ. Πράττεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης· ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν, οἷον ἀκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης· ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα, καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν· καί μου, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν, μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω.

Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἢ δόξης, ἢ προγόνων, ἢ τῶ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτα ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ ὧν ἑνὸς κινδύνου ὄντινοῦν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἄν σου; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. Τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸς Διὸς, ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτα ἀγῶνα, ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι; καὶ ταῦτα, μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἠρημένης. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ Βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ, τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐᾶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια, οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ, οὐδ' ἔμφυτα· οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι, τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν, μὴ δίκαια

δὲ πράττουσι, προσθεμένην, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν· ἀλλ᾽ ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε. Καὶ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ᾽ ἐπαινεῖτε. Εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι; τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα, στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι, τὸν δ᾽ ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ἀποφηνάμενον Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες· ἃ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῷ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτων οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι, ἅτε ῥήτορα, ἅτε στρατηγὸν, δι᾽ ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν εὐτυχῶς· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ᾽ ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων, τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει· ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ θανάτου φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ᾽ ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. Νῦν δ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ᾽ εἶχε τὸ

φρόνημα ἡ πόλις· τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι· οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν, ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει γεγενημένῳ, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ, ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου, τοῦδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι· οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς, ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους· δικαίως. Ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ, ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἀπένειμεν ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται.

Ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε, καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες· ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὑτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ, ὦ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντα ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ ἀνάξια τούτων ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον.

Ἔπειτα, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τάς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοπῶντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις, εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀποβλέποντας ἀξιώματα· καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε, ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ, τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων· ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν ὅθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου, καὶ Θετταλῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. Ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. Καίτοι, τοσαύτῃ γε ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι· τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἁπάντων, ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. Καὶ (ὡς ἔοικεν) ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ, τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ· τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων, μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. Πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἂν ἢ καταρατότερος τούτου; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

Ἐπιστολή.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους πρότερους, διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἔχειν· καὶ παρελθόντες, ἐδημηγόρουν, πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγορῆντες, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτε ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν, ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, χάριν αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι· ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηνται, δίκην λαβεῖν ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διϊέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. Καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβάλευον, τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τἄλλα ἀγαθὰ, εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα· ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν, τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντα, ἔλεγον. Ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντείπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου· ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα μὴ, παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε. Ἃ δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε τουτὶ λαβών.

Ἀπόκρισις Θηβαίων.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετεπέμποντο· ἐξίτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε· ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ', ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν, ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. Καίτοι, τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶ-

σιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα· ἓν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι, καὶ δικαιότερα ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν ἢ Φίλιππον. Καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες, σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. Ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γε ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. Οὔτε γὰρ, εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οὐδεὶς ἀδὲν ἀδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν, ἕτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε, τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. Ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ ἔγωγ' ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἦν ἡ πόλις μεστὴ, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, οἴκοι καθῆτο; εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ, ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν· καὶ περιεστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις, ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητέ μοι. Ἀλλὰ μήν, οἵας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε, ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμψε. Καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν ἔτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

Καίτοι, πολλοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς τούτων πώποτε διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων, οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων, ἐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. Ὑπελείπετο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥᾳστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, ἀναφοράν. "Τί οὖν (εἴποι τις ἄν), σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός;" ἃ λέγω ταῦτα· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ προνοίᾳ οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων τις, ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. Ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντά τι πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι

προθυμότερον, μήτε δικαιότερον. Διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἅπασιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε δὴ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε δι' ἐμέ, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. Ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί· καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες· ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα, τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τέτου δὲ οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ῥήματα ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὑτοσί· καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς, οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησε. Καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλην, τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑπερίδην (εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ) μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκε. Διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους, καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις, καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταὐτὰ γραψάντων, ἅπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτι ἐᾷν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. Τότε δ' αὐτὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀνεκρίνετο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ ἦν (οἶμαι) τότε, ἃ νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προῄδει μηδεὶς, μήτ' ἂν ᾠήθη τή-

μερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν· καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. Οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς ὄσης, τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν, καὶ μονονοὺκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. Διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους φυγών, νῦν ὕστερον ἥκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων (ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ), καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ λόγων κρίσιν, οὐ τῷ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος, ἔσεσθαι.

Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἥκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀμελῆσαι· ὥσπερ δὲ ὅταν, οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ, λογίζησθε, κἂν καθαραὶ ὦσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. Θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾖ πεπραγμένον. Ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος, ὡμολόγηκε νῦν ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους, ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει, μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει, μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός)· ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος.

Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς ἔτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἔγωγ' ἐλαττωμάτων, συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους· ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δὲ ἱππεῖς, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, συνήχθησαν. Χρημάτων δὲ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγὼ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρεων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς δικοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ ἐκ ἐλαττᾶσθαι νομίζουσα, ἐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας, οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ)· ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιστάντος, αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. Εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ, συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. Τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς, οὐχ ὅσα ἂν βουλώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματα, ἔδει δέχεσθαι; ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος, καὶ ταχὺ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος, καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων, ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος. Ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου, ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας, καὶ Θηβῶν, καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν, ἢ τί λέγειν οἴεσθε τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ,

ες ὄν· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντεις. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις, τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος, οὔτε Ῥόδος, ἔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα· καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὁπλίτην δὲ, ἢ ἱππέα, πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδένα. Ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. Τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ ᾐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο ἀδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. Πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς ὢν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἁπάντων· εἶθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί· ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον), τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός. Αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου προὐτίθετε ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί· καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περιγένοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο τοιαῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῄειτε βεβουλευμένοι.

Nam primum hanc ipsam contemnendi facultatem, cujus [illegible] ego, communem [illegible] vos [illegible] nunquam alegat mihi, et [illegible] — multa autem accidere et happened, alia aliis de causis, quaecunque [illegible] — in iis ex usu [illegible]

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἔγωγ' ἐλαττωμάτων, συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους· ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δὲ ἱππεῖς, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, συνήχθησαν. Χρημάτων δὲ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγὼ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρεων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς δικοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ ἐκ ἐλαττᾶσθαι νομίζουσα, ἐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας, οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ)· ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιστάντος, αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. Εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ, συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. Τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς, οὐχ ὅσα ἂν βουλώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματα, ἔδει δέχεσθαι; ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος, καὶ ταχὺ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος, καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων, ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος. Ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου, ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας, καὶ Θηβῶν, καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν, ἢ τί λέγειν οἴεσθε τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ,

Quod si para nostra cum Thebanorum pueris comparas,

contra Caretas

ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ, ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα, τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπείας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος γέγονε· πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται· ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων λῃστῶν γέγονεν· ἐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ, καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος ἀνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. Τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἦκει τῇ πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεληλυθότων· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς, ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι, μηδὲ δεικνύοι, δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα, διεξίοι· "Εἰ τὸ, καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσὶ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν." Ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἧτταν (εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς, ἐφ' ᾗ στένειν σε, ὦ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν) ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. Οὑτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε. Οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε, ὅπου πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ὁδαμόθεν, ὅ τὰ τελευταῖα πρώην ἐκ Θηβῶν· ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς

ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ τὸν αὐτὸν εἴς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων, καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν, ἕνα ὄντα, κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις· τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἑκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἐμὲ ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· ἕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὧν γ᾽ ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. Τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα, καὶ προαισθέσθαι, καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. Καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας, ὄκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἅπασαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἁμαρτήματα, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συσεῖλαι, καὶ τἀναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. Καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μή ποτε ἀνθρώπων εὕροι τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. Εἰ τοίνυν τις ὁντινοῦν ἔροιτο, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διῳκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἶποιεν, τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Οὐκοῦν, τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ᾽ ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ· ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. Καὶ μὴν, τῷ γε μὴ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασι, κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς, νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνέμενον· ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμέ.

Ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην, εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς

ἑτέροις, ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν. Ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἴστε, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάνθ' ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκὼς, ἡνίκα οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ, πρῶτον μὲν, περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει· καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. Ἔπειτα σιτώνην αἱρούμενος, ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησε. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων, οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτα ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοηθήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε, ὅτι τὰς πρώτας χρόνας, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ οὔτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους, οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτης, ἔτε Λιώνδε καὶ Μελάνου μανία, οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ)· ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας Ἀθηναίους, ἐσωζόμην δικαίως. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ ἐγνωκότων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν. Οὐκοῦν, ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτε ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφυγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα

πεπρᾶχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. Τούτων οὖν ἕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; οὐχ, ὃ τὸν ῥῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον; οὐχ, ὃ τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας δικαστάς; οὐχ, ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν; ναί φησιν· ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φυγεῖν. Καὶ, νὴ Δί', εὐδαιμόν γε. Ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον, ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν, μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν, ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τῶ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἐσί μοι· ἀδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν. Ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πολλαχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, ἐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. Ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν ὅστις, ἄνθρωπος ὤν, ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, παντελῶς ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι. Ἂν γὰρ ὁ τὰ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων, καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος, οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν, ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνῳ κέχρηται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. Ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην, ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον μαντευόμενον· τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινήν. Τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων, ἢ τίς Βαρβάρων,

προηγεμὼν, καὶ κιττοφόρος, καὶ λικνοφόρος, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραϊδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τέτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτὸς καὶ νεήλατα· ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο), ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, ὑπογραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. Ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ', ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς, αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας, μὰ Δί', ἐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ· ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμμύκᾳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλαίας συλλέγων, ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης, ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα, ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, ὃς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος· ὑφ' ὧν τὰ πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰλημφὼς, εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ἐξ ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. Τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τᾶτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν, εὐτυχέσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος, λαγὼ βίον ἔζης, δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων, καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι· ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὤψαι. Καίτοι, ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάῤῥησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστι;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ, παραλείψω. Οὐ γὰρ ὅσ᾽ ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ᾽ αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ᾽ οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί. Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παράλληλα τὰ σοὶ καὶ μοὶ βεβιωμένα, πρᾴως καὶ μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ᾽ ἐρώτησον τουτουσί, τὴν ὁποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ᾽ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.

Ἐδίδασκες γράμματα· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐφοίτων. Ἐτέλεις· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐτελούμην. Ἐχόρευες· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐχορήγουν. Ἐγραμμάτευες· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐκκλησίαζον. Ἐτριταγωνίστεις· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐθεώρουν. Ἐξέπιπτες· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐσύριττον. Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐῶ τἄλλα. Ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδοτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι· σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει· κινδυνεύεις δὲ, εἴτε δεῖ σε ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτε ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι, μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. Ἀγαθῇ δὲ (ᾐχ ὁρᾶς;) τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς, τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης κατηγορεῖς. Φέρε δὴ, καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ πάσας· παρανάγνωθι δ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου·

"Ἥκω λιπὼν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας·"

καὶ

"Κάκ᾽ ἀγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με·"

καὶ, — κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ, ἔπειτα δὲ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα πολίτην, καὶ προδότην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν. Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τοιοῦτος ἐγώ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις, εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴσε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι, οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην ἂν περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα· ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον· τὸν δ' εὖ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστῆ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν, μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι. Ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς, ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἢ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἔστω· συγχωρῶ σοι τὴν ἐμὴν, εἴτε τύχην, εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει, πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ, μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ, πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον, τὴν ἁπάντων (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν, καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν, καὶ οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει, τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι; σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς, ἐμὲ τὸν

παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾷ· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστά σοι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἁπάσαις ἀεὶ, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις πρὸτίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστα εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστά σοι· (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων, καὶ ζήλου, καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον·) πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς, τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ἂν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω;

Παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκών; ὀργὴ καὶ τιμωρία κατ' αὐτοῦ· ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. Οὔτε ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δὲς, οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἁπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. Φανήσεται τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὠμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἁπλῶς καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν

ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσωμαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν, καὶ γόητα, καὶ σοφιστὴν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνομάζων· ὡς, ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴποι τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι· κἀκεῖνο δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα, (ἔστω γάρ· καίτοι ἔγωγε ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος κυρίους ὄντας· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε, καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν·) εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὑρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ· τὴν δὲ τούτου τοὐναντίον, οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τῶτον, ἢ προσέκρουσέ πω, κατὰ τούτων. Οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν, οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικασὰς ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, ἐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀνάγκη, πρᾴως καὶ μετρίως διακείμενον ἔχειν. Ἐν τίσιν ἂν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίους ἐστί τι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. Μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου, δί-

κην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ, μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν νῦν ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι, ἰδίας ἔχθρας, καὶ φθόνου, καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ· τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα, νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἥκειν, πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν.

Καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν λόγων, ἐπίδειξίν τινα φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι, τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. Ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιος, ἀδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν, οὕσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾶταί τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς· ἐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. Ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς; ἐγὼ ταὐτὰ γὰρ συμφέροντα εἱλόμην τουτοισὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. Ἆρ' ἔν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι· καὶ ταῦτ', ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασι. Καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κήρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος, ἢ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν; σὺ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος εὑρέθης.

Εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ, καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τουτωνὶ πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγῇ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναί σοι καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν, ἕνεκα τῆς ἰδίας ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας, εὐθὺς ὡμολόγεις, καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα. Ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως, Αἰσχίνη, τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας, ξένος, ἢ φίλος, ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθείρειν τὰ συμφέροντα τουτωνί. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερῶς αὐτοῖς εἰλημμένος προδότης, καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς, ἐμοὶ λοιδορῇ, καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ἂν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις ἢ ἐμέ.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἠμνημόνησε. Σημεῖον δέ. Χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα, οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὔφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. Καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταὐτὰ, ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτι ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι κἀγώ. Ἀμφότερα

ἤδεσαν αὐτοὶ, τήν τ᾽ ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ᾽ ἧς τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν. Ἃ γὰρ εὐθηνούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ᾽, ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις, ὡμολογήσατε. Τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν, ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν, ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ᾽ ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. Εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπελάμβανον τὸν ἐραστά τοτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα, μήθ᾽ ὁμωρόφιον, μήθ᾽ ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις· μηδ᾽ ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιανίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ᾽ ἐλθόντας τιμᾶσθαι· καὶ μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. Ταῦτο δ᾽ ἑώρων παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ, παρὰ δ᾽ ὑμῖν οὔ. Διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν, καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. Καὶ οὐχ, ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ᾽ αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς, ἄλλως πως· ἀλλὰ, δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς παρ᾽ οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τἄλλ᾽ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησαν παρ᾽ ἐμοί. Εἰκότως. Γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν ὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω. Ὦ γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, ἔτος καὶ παθόντων ἃ μή ποτ᾽ ὤφελον, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχε.

Λέγε δ᾽ αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι· ἵν᾽ εἰδῇς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

"Οἵδε πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας, εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
Ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
Μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος, οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
Ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβην,
Οὕνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ, ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
Δουλοσύνης, στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
Γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις.
Μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
Ἐν βιοτῇ. Μοῖραν δ' οὔ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν."

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. Τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατε, ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορῇ, καὶ λέγεις, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν; πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, ἓν μάλιστ' ἐθαύμασ' ἁπάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει ἀναμνησθεὶς, οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους οὐδὲ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τῇ ψυχῇ· ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν, καὶ γεγηθὼς, καὶ λαρυγγίζων, ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. Καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ ἔτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, τὸ ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν, ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. Ὃ

σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερὸς, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως, ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθεῖν. Ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, τοσαῦτα δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν, ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ', εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, κατηγορεῖ, τί ἔτος οὐκ ἂν εἶποι; καίτοι, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴγ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν, οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες· τὸς ὁμοίως τέτῳ παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων εὕροι τις ἂν, οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐμοί. Οἵ, ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρὰ, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλούντων, καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτισα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας, τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τὸς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκασοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν· Θετταλοὺς, Ἀλόχος, Κινέας, Θρασύδαιος· Ἀρκάδας, Κερκιδᾶς, Ἱερώνυμος, Εὐκαλπίδας· Ἀργείους, Μύρτις, Τελάδαμος, Μνασέας· Ἠλείους, Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος,

Ἀρίσταιχμος· Μεσσηνίους, οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες, Νέων, καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυωνίους, Ἀρίστρατος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους, Δείναρχος, Δημάρατος· Μεγαρέας, Πτοιόδωρος, Ἔλιξος, Περίλαος· Θηβαίους, Τιμόλαος, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτως· Εὐβοέας, Ἵππαρχος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος. Ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. Οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν πατρίσιν, ἅνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ, καὶ κόλακες, καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες, πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· τῇ γαστρὶ μετρῆντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὑτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες. Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων, καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δή σοι λέγω ὅτι, τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἁπάντων ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ ἔτε καιρὸς, ἔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων, ἔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος, οὔτ' ἐλπὶς, οὔτε φόβος, οὔτε χάρις, οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο, ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι, οὐδὲν προδῶναι· οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τουτοισὶν,

ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ, ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς πάντα μοι πέπρακται· καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν, ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω· (πῶς γὰρ οὔ;) πόῤῥω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. Οὐ γὰρ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλει δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τόπους, καὶ λιμένας, καὶ ναῦς, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. Ταῦτα προὐβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον μόνον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεος. Οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου (πολλῷ γε καὶ δεῖ), οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς· ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. Τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί· σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν; τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων, τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπείαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶ-

σαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας, καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόνησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον· τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξῃ, πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυδον, τὴν Πέρινθον; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλιπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν. Ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βέληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὑρήσει, καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα, οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα, οὐδὲ προδοθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. Εἰ δ' ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς, ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης, ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία, ἢ πάντα ταῦθ' ἅμα ἐλυμήνατο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψε, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ', οἷος ἦν ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ ἕνα μόνον ἄνδρα Θετταλία, καὶ ἕνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία, ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντα ἔσχον ἐμοὶ, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε τῶν εἴσω, τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν· ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας, ἀσφαλῶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν, ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. Ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβέμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ· (ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, ἐν μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν· ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων, τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι, καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν, τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν·) οὐ, μὰ Δί', ἀποσάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς, ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, θεραπεύειν· οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, βασκαίνειν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν· ἐπ' ἡσυχίαν δ' ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὕπουλον, ὡς σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. Ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἁπλῶς ἄγετε. Ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν· πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς, ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ, τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ), φυλάττει ὁπηνίκα ἐστὲ μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα, ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα)· εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας, ὥσπερ πνεῦμα, ἐφάνη· καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς, καὶ συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους, συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστὶ, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας, οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενὸς, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. Καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴπερ

ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προῃρημένης, τοὺς καιροὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. Τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ· ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγονὼς, οὐ πρῶτος, ἀ δεύτερος, ἀ τρίτος, ἀ τέταρτος, ἀ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν· οὔκουν, ἐπεί γε καὶ ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. Τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια, ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία, τίς διακονία, δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα γέγονε; τί τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἱππικόν; τί τῶν ἁπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων παρὰ σοῦ; ἀδεμία. Ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τοτελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον ἀργύριον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν· οὐδὲ τότ' οὔτε παρῆλθες, οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν. Οὐκ ἀπορῶν· πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πέντε ταλάντων· διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.

Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων, τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. Ἀλλ' ὅτι γε οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον· ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις, οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ.

Ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας, καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τι κατὰ τούτων δέοι, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης. Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν μέμνησαι· καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. Οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὔνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ, τὸν συζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεσί there Curtis τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀδεὺς ἔτι μισεῖ; ἕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τὰς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνομαι καὶ θεωροῦμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ, καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει, τῶν ταὐτά σοι προηρημένων, καὶ ζώντων. Κἀκεῖνο σκόπει· πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει, διὰ τὰς τῶν προτέρων εὐεργεσίας, ἅσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὕμενουν εἶπαι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας, εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν· ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία, καὶ ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται· ἡ δὲ σὴ, ταῖς τῶν τοὺς

τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες τοὺς χρόνους, οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπῄνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταὐτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί. Εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ· σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε, καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν, ὥσπερ τἄλλα πάντα, τὰς ποιητὰς, τὰς χορὰς, τὰς ἀγωνιστάς. Ὁ Φιλάμμων, οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καί τινων ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῄει· ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο, καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. Καὶ σὺ, πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὁντινα βούλει τῶν ἁπάντων· οὐδενὶ ἐξίσταμαι, ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἑλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καὶ νόμοις, καὶ πρεσβείαις, ἅπαντα διῳκεῖτο· ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμῇ, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελε, συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἑτοίμων, καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἑτέρους βουλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει, καὶ μέγας, καὶ λαμπρὸς ἱπποτρόφος· ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενὴς, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

Δύο δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτα τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαυτῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν)· ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν· ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν. Τέτυ γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία· τῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν, ἑτέρα. Ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὑρήσετε ἁπλῶς· ὁρᾶτε δέ. Οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους, ὥσπερ θηρία, μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. Τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἱλόμην, τὰς τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας, τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. Οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις, οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι· τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικὼς ἀκούω, καὶ στένων, καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὑτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν· ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμενεῖ, φασὶ δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τέτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἔχουσιν οὕτως ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἐξώλεις

καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσαιτε· ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON.

Page 2 Line 1. *Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν, κ. τ. λ.*] *You see, Athenians, the preparation, the array, and the solicitations in the forum, employed by a certain party, in order that the regular and usual practice may not be followed in the state.* The Exordium of Æschines has very great beauties; and, we may say, conforms to all the rules of the art. It is not a commonplace introduction that might be put, with equal propriety, at the head of any harangue. It is adapted so exactly to this one, that it could not be used for any other, unless the subject were precisely similar. We immediately recognise Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, although they are not mentioned. They are represented as factious men, grounding their hopes entirely upon intrigue, and appearing before the tribunal with an escort, rather suited to generals offering battle, than to orators coming to plead a cause. All that Æschines adds afterwards, is derived immediately from the subject. According to the rules of eloquence, an exordium ought to have three qualities; it should make the audience favorable, attentive, and tractable. Each of these is found in the Exordium of Æschines. The orator gains the good will of the judges, when he declares that he confides entirely in the laws and in them, *τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν*, and that the interest of the state alone obliges him to speak; he excites their attention, by the long list of disorders that certain persons had introduced into the republic; and finally he renders them disposed to enter into what he is about to say, by showing the importance of reforming these abuses; and by declaring that

his object is no less, than to preserve the popular government, 2
and the liberty of the people, now in danger. Some rhetoricians blame this introduction, as too pathetic, and call it a peroration, rather than an exordium. But if they reproach Æschines for this supposed fault, with much greater reason should they blame Demosthenes, who addresses all the gods and goddesses at once, as if he wished, by his prayers, to interest all Olympus in the quarrel. So far from thinking that there is any thing to be objected to either of these orators, it seems to me that they have given to their discourse only the proper degree of warmth; a warmth which would become the opening of any cause of the highest importance to the two parties.

3. *καὶ τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους,*] *and the Senate of Five* 3
Hundred. To distinguish it from the Senate of Arcopagus, which was permanent. Athens was divided into ten tribes. Each of them chose, every year, by lot, fifty senators; who together composed the Senate of Five Hundred. Each tribe, in turn, held the chief rank, and then yielded it to one of the others. The fifty senators in office were called *πρυτάνεις, Prytanes;* the particular place in which they assembled, *πρυτανεῖον, Prytaneum;* and the time of their employment, *πρυτανεία, Prytania,* which lasted thirty-five or thirty-six days. During this time, ten out of the fifty presided every week, with the title of *πρόεδροι, Proedri;* and he who was president of these upon each particular day in the week, was called *ἐπιστάτης, Epistates.* The senators from the other tribes in the mean time continued to give their votes, according to the rank assigned them by lot; but the Prytanes called the assembly; the Proedri explained the cause, and the Epistates asked their opinions.

4. *καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας*] *and the assemblies.* There were two kinds of assemblies, the common, *κύριαι ἐκκλησίαι,* and the extraordinary, *κατακλησίαι* or *σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι.* Of the former, which the Prytanes had alone the right of calling, there were four held, during each Prytania, upon appointed days, and upon fixed subjects. The latter were convoked sometimes by the Prytanes,

3 and sometimes by the Generals; and were held upon any day and any subject, as occasion offered. The assembly was opened by a sacrifice, and with an imprecation against any one who should do, say, or think any thing against the republic. After this the Proedri explained to the people the object of the meeting; declared the opinion of the Senate of Five Hundred, and called on them to ratify, amend, or disapprove this opinion. If the people did not approve it immediately, a herald, appointed by the Epistates, cried out in a loud voice, "Let any one above fifty years old, who wishes, speak; and then the rest of the Athenians in order." Thus they ascended the *tribune* in turn; and after the harangues, each one gave his opinion, by pointing with his hand to the orator whose address had pleased him most. Six thousand citizens were necessary for passing a decree; which was drawn up, after the votes were counted, and inscribed with the name of the orator, or senator, whose opinion had prevailed.

5. *καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων*] The laws of Solon ordered that age should determine each one's rank; and that the orators should ascend the *tribune*, beginning with those who were over fifty, and going down in order; in accordance with the law of nature, which dictates that old and wise heads should direct others. But these wise laws had not been in force for about fi ty-seven years; since they were abolished under the Archon Glaucippus. But although revoked, they were still obeyed; since reason, herself, teaches the young the duty of respecting the old. Æschines here prays for the entire restoration of these laws, the neglect of which had caused such disorders.

27. *μετ' ὀργῆς κρίνουσι,*] The word *ὀργὴ* has sometimes a more extensive meaning than *anger*. It expresses the general character; the manners and turn of mind, the passions, affections, and inclinations; and sometimes is used in a good, sometimes in a bad sense. Different writers use it in all these ways. Pindar says (Pyth. II, 141.), *ὀργαῖς ἀτενὲς ἀλωπέκων ἴκελοι, entirely resembling foxes in their dispositions;* and (Pyth. I, 173.) to express the benevolent character of one of

his heroes, he uses the same word, *εὐανθεῖ ἐν ὀργῇ παρμένων*, *continuing in your noble character.* In short, this word is used just as *μένος*, which means sometimes *anger, rage,* and sometimes merely the *disposition of mind; εὐμενὴς, well-inclined, δυσμενὴς, ill-inclined.* Hence we can understand the meaning of Æschines when he says, *οἱ κρίνουσι μετ' ὀργῆς, who pass sentence through passion.* The word *anger* is implied in it. 3

2. *οὔθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλὴ,*] We have already said that Athens was divided into ten tribes. They took their names from ten heroes of the country, and occupied each a part of Athens, together with certain towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Their names were as follows; the Acamantian tribe, so named from Acamas, son of Theseus; that of Ajax, from Ajax, son of Telamon; the Antiochian, from Antiochus, son of Hercules; the Cecropian, from Cecrops, the founder and first king of Athens; the Ægean, from Ægeus, the ninth king of Athens, and father of Theseus; the Erecthean, from Erectheus, sixth king of Athens; the Hippothoonian, from Hippothoon, son of Neptune; the Leontian, from Leo, who sacrificed his daughters for the safety of his country; the Œnean, from Œneus, son of Pandion; the Pandionian, from Pandion, the fifth king of Athens. The number of tribes was not always the same. It varied as Athens increased. There were at first only four; soon after, six; then ten, as in the time of our orators; and finally, thirteen. For to the ten that we have already mentioned, the Athenians added three others; when, having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to Flattery, the daughter of Servitude. These three tribes were the Ptolemæan, in honor of Ptolemy, son of Lagus; the Attalian, so called from Attalus, king of Pergamus; and the Adrianian, from the emperor Adrian. They took a certain number from the old tribes, to form these new ones. 4

20. *καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης*] *the lawgiver.* This word, when found without any other epithet, in the writings of the ancient orators, is generally applied to Solon; to whom they gave the title of Lawgiver, by way of eminence.

5 2. ἀλλ' ὥςπερ — τὴν ἡμέραν.] *But as each of you would be ashamed to desert his post in battle; so consider it a disgrace, this day, to abandon the post assigned you by the laws, that of guardians of the constitution.* This comparison is found in most of the ancient orators, who were particularly fond of it; as indeed it is in itself great and noble. But it was never more happily employed than by Æschines, who alludes to the cowardice of Demosthenes, who in the battle of Cheronea threw down his buckler and fled. This remark is the more delicate and cutting, as it is free from all appearance of intentional allusion.

22. περὶ — τῶν νόμων, — περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων,] *Laws relating to those who were required to give up their accounts.* All those who had any charge, any jurisdiction or office, in Athens, were obliged to give up their accounts when they left the office. Before performing this duty, they could not dispose of any thing that belonged to them, or even leave Athens, on any pretence whatever.

6 14. κατιδὼν δέ τις — νομοθέτης,] *A certain lawgiver*, and not *the lawgiver*, which would mean Solon. So that in this place the Greek word signifies one of the magistrates appointed to correct the ancient laws, by removing those which were injurious, and by proposing new ones, as circumstances required.

25. ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῷ.] *When he shall have given up his accounts and proved them correct.* Λόγος καὶ εὐθύναι are synonymes inseparably united by custom; as in English we say, You are answerable for the *cost and charges.* But still these two words are not exactly synonymous. Λόγος means an account, εὐθύναι, the proofs of the correctness of the account, αἱ τῶν διῳκημένων ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δοκιμασίαι, καὶ ἐξετάσεις, καὶ ἀπολογισμοί.

7 7. αἱρετὸς ὢν] *being chosen.* Athens had different kinds of magistrates, who were either αἱρετοὶ, or κληρωτοὶ, or χειροτονητοί. Αἱρετοὶ, being certain magistrates chosen either by a tribe in Athens, or by a small town in Attica, and engaged in some office, either with or without the right of jurisdiction at-

tached to it. They were the lowest kind of magistrates; and 7
the small town or tribe only chose them on certain occasions, when the republic had ordered it by a previous decree. *Κληρωτοὶ*, were the magistrates appointed by lot, by the Thesmothetæ, in the temple of Theseus. The people nominated the candidates who should be chosen from, by lot. They proceeded in this way; they had as many small pieces of brass, *πινάκια χαλκᾶ*, as there were candidates, upon which they wrote their names, and threw them into an urn, with an equal number of black and white beans. They then drew out a name, with a white or a black bean; and he whose name came with a white bean, was declared magistrate elect. *Κυάμοις τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι*, said the law. *Διεκλήρουν τὰς ἀρχὰς κυάμῳ, καὶ ὃ τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον λαβὼν ἐλάγχανεν*, says Hesychius. Hence they called them indiscriminately *κληρωτοὶ* and *κυαμευτοί*. This formality was not always observed. The Athenians neglected it very properly when, without trusting at all to fortune, they were wise enough to oblige Aristides to accept the office of chief Archon. They thought that they might violate a law, in favor of a man who would observe, and cause others to observe, all other laws, with such exactness. Lastly, the *χειροτονητοὶ* were the magistrates whom, when nominated by the Thesmothetæ, the people chose by a plurality of voices, in the Pnyx, a place appropriated to this purpose, near the citadel. The people gave their votes by stretching out their hands, *τείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας*, and hence the magistrates elected in this way were called *χειροτονητοί*. This detail is necessary, in order to understand the first part of the oration of Æschines, which turns almost entirely upon it. He says that Demosthenes would allege, that he was not obliged to give up his accounts, as only being one of the *αἱρετοὶ*, who were not obliged to do so; and at the same time refutes the subterfuge of his adversary, by proving by the laws, that every magistrate, without distinction, who had the management of any of the public money, or who passed sentence, was accountable; and that Demosthenes, in either case, must give an account of what he had done.

7 8. *ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία·*] ***This was not a magistracy, but a kind of commission, or agency.*** Aristotle, in the fourth book of his Politics, defines thus the two distinctions; "We call those magistrates *ἀρχὰς*, who, by the nature of their office, have the right of passing sentence, and who are particularly characterized by their giving orders; *ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ ἐπισάται* are those who have not, ex officio, the same right." Æschines shows, that as these rights were found in the commission of Demosthenes, he must have held an *ἀρχὴ*, and not an *ἐπιμέλεια*.

9. *οἱ θεσμοθέται*] ***The Thesmothetæ*** were six magistrates who were chosen annually at Athens, to be the guardians and preservers of the laws. They had to examine them, and prevent any abuses from creeping in. We see here that they disposed of certain offices, by lot.

24. *ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων*] ***The right of presiding at a tribunal.*** It is to be understood in this way; it seems that at Athens there were several inferior tribunals, for deciding the differences of those who were employed upon the public works; and that he who presided at these tribunals judged of these causes, in the last resort. Æschines says that these judges were accountable; and that Demosthenes was therefore accountable, since, when repairing the walls, he had exercised this jurisdiction over the public workmen.

30. *τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστὰς,*] The former was he who read the decrees in public, and who kept the archives; the latter were judges so called; ***the receivers of accounts.*** They were ten in number. *Παρ' οἷς οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες, ἢ τι δημόσιον δικάσαντες, ἤ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντες ἐδίδοσαν τὰς εὐθύνας.*

8 19. *ἐπιδέδωκα — μνᾶς ἑκατὸν,*] *Ἐπιδιδόναι* means, ***to give something of your own, to contribute voluntarily.*** An Attic mina was worth between nine and ten dollars. So that the sum that Demosthenes had given to the state was between nine and ten hundred dollars.

9 1. *Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας*] Families of priests; so called because they were descended from ***Eumolpus*** and ***Ceryx***, ancient priests of Athens. They had their duties regulated at

the festival of Eleusis, that is, at the mysteries of Ceres, institut- 9
ed, as was pretended, by one of the ancestors of Eumolpus.

2. *τριηράρχους*] This word means in itself *commanders of galleys;* but custom had given it, at Athens, a different signification. It was applied to those citizens in easy circumstances, who were obliged, as such, to equip galleys, at their own expense, for the service of the republic.

11. *τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ*] *The Areopagus;* a tribunal at Athens, famous in antiquity; celebrated for the wisdom and equity of its decisions. The name means, *Hill of Mars;* according to some, because Mars, accused of murder, by Neptune, was tried by the gods in form, and condemned, in that place; and according to others, because the Amazons, carrying on war against Theseus, and besieging Athens, encamped on that hill, where they offered a splendid sacrifice to Mars. Authors are not agreed as to the situation of this hill. Some, with considerable probability, suppose it was opposite the citadel; and others, that it was in the citadel itself. The Areopagus was called also *ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ*, either in reference to its authority, or to the situation of the place in which it was held. We are ignorant of the time of its establishment; and can only form conjectures concerning it. The number of senators in this tribunal was not determined, and there are various opinions respecting it. All those of the nine Archons who performed their duties, each year, with public approbation, were in consequence, senators of the Areopagus. It will be sufficient here to give the names that have been applied to it by different authors, to show its reputation; *ἔρυμα χώρας, φρούρημα γῆς, πόλεως σωτήριον.*

13. *καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν, κ. τ. λ.*] *and this august assembly, the arbiter of the most important affairs, brings under your control.* I have preferred making the word *σκυθρωπὸν* agree with *βουλὴν*, instead of putting it in the genitive plural; since the sense is thus incomparably better, and more analogous as well to the etymology, as to the signification and application of the word *σκυθρωπός.*

9 15. *Οὐκ ἄρα — τρυφῶσι.*] *Shall not, then, the Senate of the Areopagus be crowned? Their predecessors have not handed down this usage to them. Are they not then fond of honors? certainly; but they are not satisfied that every one among them should be free from injustice, but also punish every one who commits any fault; whilst your orators give themselves up to every indulgence.* The senators of the Areopagus held a perpetual magistracy, and being always accountable could never be crowned; consequently, they loved virtue for herself alone, and not for her rewards. In our days we hunt with the lantern of Diogenes for men who think and act like those of the Areopagus; and if there are any, they are to be found only in republics or governments nearly like them.

10 20. *τάλαντα*] A talent was worth sixty minæ; a mina, a hundred drachms; a drachm, six oboli, or nearly the eighth part of an ounce.

11 2. *ἄρχοντος*] The Archons were the principal magistrates of Athens. She was at first governed by kings, of whom there were seventeen. The last of them was Codrus; who generously sacrificed himself for his country. In a war between the Athenians and Dorians, Codrus having learned from the Oracle, that the nation whose king should be killed, would gain the victory, escaped from his guards in disguise, and having entered the camp of the enemy, caused himself to be put to death. The Athenians, rightly fearing that they should never find so good a king, abolished royalty, and created the Archons; of whom there were three kinds. First, were the Archons for life; who succeeded the monarchical government, and of whom there were thirteen, in order. Medon, son of Codrus, was the first, and Alcmæon the last. This kind of government lasted nearly three hundred years. Then followed the Archons chosen for ten years; of these there were seven; Charops being the first, and Eryxias, the last. This species of magistracy lasted only fifty years. Finally, they limited the power of the Archons to one year. There was an immense number of annual Archons; for they began to govern in the year 685 before Christ, when Numa Pom-

pilius was king at Rome, and in the year 59 after Christ, there 11
was still an Archon at Athens. But the last of them were dependent on the Romans. Still, however, they did not appoint only one annual archon; there were nine chosen, who, all together and at the same time, possessed the sovereign authority. The first was the Archon, so called by way of eminence; the second had the title of king; the third that of Polemarch; and the six others were called Thesmothetæ. The Archon was the head of the state, uniting in his person the executive and judicial powers; and all public acts and events were dated from him. The king had the department of religion; the Polemarch that of war; and the Thesmothetæ the care and revision of the laws. Before Solon, the election of these magistrates was by suffrage; but he thought it better that they should be appointed by lot, and having undergone an examination, should be finally approved and confirmed by the people. When the year of their administration was finished, having given up their accounts and given satisfaction with respect to them, they became senators of the Areopagus. It was under this kind of government that Athens was most flourishing; and the most illustrious Archons were Draco, Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Acibiades, &c.

11. *ἀντιγραφεὺς*] Corresponding to the word *controller*. *Ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῇ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα.* Harpocration.

17. *ἀποδεκτῶν.*] This office answers to that of *receiver, treasurer*. *Ἀποδέκται ἀρχή τίς ἐστι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἧς πολλάκις μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες καὶ οἱ κωμικοί· Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ δεδήλωκεν, ὡς δέκα τε εἴησαν καὶ ὡς παραλαβόντες τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα τῆς βουλῆς ἐναντίον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασι τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ ἁπλῶς ἃ πράττουσι διασαφεῖ.* Harpocr.

18. *νεωρίων ἀρχὴν,*] Literally, *superintendency of ship-houses;* and more freely, *of the navy*. *Λιμὴν* is properly *the harbour; ὅρμος*, from *ἕρμα, every place where vessels are at anchor; ναύσταθμος, the place in the harbour where the vessels are;*

11 *νεώρια* and *νεώσοικοι*, mean the same thing, viz. buildings erected in the harbour in which they put their vessels under cover, *τόποι εἰς οὓς αἱ νῆες ἀνέλκονται*. Homer calls these houses *ἐπίσιον*, Ionic for *ἐφέσιον*.

18. *σκευοθήκην*] *arsenal*, *ἡ τῶν πολεμικῶν σκευῶν ἀποθήκη*.

12 2. *Θαργηλιῶνος*] The month of *July*. So called because during this month they celebrated the feast of the sun, called *Θαργήλια*, from *θέρων γῆν ἥλιος*, *the sun heating the earth*.

2. *δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος*,] *The twenty-ninth*. The Athenians divided their month into three portions of ten days each. They called the first day *νουμηνία*, from *νέος* and *μήνη*, *new moon*, and the other days *μηνὸς ἰσαμένου δευτέρα*, *κ. τ. λ.* and so on, to the *tenth*, *δεκάτη*. Beyond this number they counted *πρώτη*, *κ. τ. λ. μηνὸς μεσοῦντος* or *ἐπὶ δέκα*, to the *twentieth*, *εἰκάς*. The fifteenth day was called *πανσέληνος full moon*, from *πᾶν* and *σελήνη*. They named the last day of every month *ἕνη καὶ νέα*, *old and new moon*, *μήνη* being understood. And during the last ten days they counted backward; adding the word *φθίνοντος* or *λήγοντος*, *δεκάτη*, *ἐννάτη*, *κ. τ. λ.* to express *the twenty-first*, *twenty-second*, *and so on*; as if we should say, *ten days*, *nine days*, *&c. before the end of the month*. They said, however, sometimes *πρώτη ἀπιόντος*, or *ἐπὶ εἰκάδι*, or *μετὰ εἰκάδα*, and so on, to the last of the month; following the natural order. Some, however, consider *ἀπιόντος*, as having the same construction and force as *φθίνοντος*.

4. *Σκιροφοριῶνος*] The month of *August*. During this month they celebrated the feast of Minerva called *Σκιροφόρια*, from *φέρω σκίρον*, *to bear a canopy*; because they carried a canopy in the procession in honor of the goddess. *Σκίρον σκιάδιόν ἐστι, μεθ' οὗ φερόμενοι ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἴς τινα τόπον καλούμενον σκίρον πορεύονται ἥ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεὺς, καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου.* Harpocr. Those who write it with *ῥῥ* must derive it from a singular etymon.

28. *τριττύες*] *Τριττύς ἐστι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς φυλῆς· αὕτη γὰρ διῄρηται εἰς τρία μέρη, τριττὺν καὶ ἔθνη καὶ φρατρίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ.* Harp. This was then *the third of a tribe*; and each third was divided *into thirty families*, *εἰς τριάκοντα γένη*.

29. οἱ δῆμοι] *boroughs.* These were about one hundred 12
and seventy-four in number; and were divided among the ten tribes. In signatures, contracts, and judicial acts, an Athenian annexed to his name, that of his father, and of the borough to which he belonged.

31. ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν.] *turn proclamations to pur- 13*
poses of interest. Ἐργολάβος, ὁ φλαύροις πράγμασι χρώμενος παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ὑπέρ τινων ἔργων μισθὸν λαμβάνων καὶ ἔχων τοὺς συνεργαζομένους, ὡς ἡ συνήθεια. Bekker. Anecdd. p. 259.

5. Πνυκὶ] Πνὺξ τόπου ὄνομα, ἐν ᾧ δῆμος ἐκκλησιάζων συνήγε- 14
το. *A place where the people sometimes held their assemblies.* Some say that the oblique cases were declined Πυκνὸς, Πυκνὶ, for euphony; but I see no discord in saying Πνυκὶ, and at the same time we avoid the ambiguity arising from the word πυκνός. Still however, it is probable that it takes its name from πυκνὰ ἐκεῖ συνελθεῖν, *to assemble often;* or from πεπνῦσθαι, *to be prudent.* Notwithstanding its decrees were not always dictated by prudence. Καίτοι μυρίων ἐκεῖ ἀνοήτων καὶ βδελυρῶν πολλάκις ἐκκλησιασάντων, καὶ βλαβερὰ τῇ πόλει ψηφισαμένων. Wolfius.

20. κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν] *by stealing away your attention;* or *deceiving your ears.* Homer employs the word κλέπτω, in the same sense, Iliad, Α. 131.

Μὴ δ' οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Κλέπτε νόῳ· ἐπεὶ οὐ παφλήσεται, οὐδέ μ' πείσεις.

31. συνηγόρους τοὺς νόμους] *I will produce your laws for my advocates.* This expression is full of force and energy. The laws seem to be present, to escort, to surround Æschines; and in concert with him, to speak, to cry out against the prevarications of Demosthenes.

5. δύο — ὑπεναντίους] *two laws upon the same subject, op- 15*
posed to each other. Nothing injures a state so much as contradictory laws; they open a door for evasion; every one has a law for obeying or disobeying, as he pleases. Truth being one and unchangeable, whatever is variable and subject to contradictions has not its character.

15 20. *τῶν ἐπωνύμων,*] *the statues of the heroes, whose names were given to the ten tribes.*

16 26. *μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι*] *to be more honored.* The word *τιμαῖς* is understood; without its being necessary to insert it in the text, or to change *μείζοσι* into *μειζόνως*, since the idiom is very common in Greek.

19 18. *Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν,*] *For why is it necessary now to mention these things?* Æschines, by saying that it was not necessary to relate three adventures very disagreeable to Demosthenes, recalls them in a very malignant and cruel manner. The first was the dispute that he had had with Demomeles, his kinsman, who had given him several blows, and whom he had therefore delivered up to the tribunal of the Areopagus. He was suspected on this occasion of having scarred his own head, to make him pay for it. The second was his baseness in becoming the accuser of Cephisidotus, whom he ought for every reason to have defended. The third was the blow that he received from Midias in the full theatre.

23. *Κηφισιδότου*] *Cephisidotus* having besieged Halopeconesus, and being denounced for his stipulations with Charidemus and condemned, payed a fine of five talents.

25. *καὶ περιάγων*] It seemed to be an honor to the commander on board whose vessel the general went; since he seemed to prefer his galley to others, as being better constructed.

23 4. *παρ' ἐκείνου, τοὺς δέ*] In other editions it is *καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα, and not having waited for his ambassadors,* (those of Philip). But this is contrary to history and to what follows soon after, *μόνος — ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, he only proposed to stipulate with the herald and ambassadors of Philip.* So that it would be an evident contradiction in Æschines, to say that Demosthenes had not waited for the ambassadors, whom his own words prove to have been present. Various corrections have been proposed for this passage; some think the words *παρ' ἐκείνου* superfluous, and that he is speaking of the ambassadors whom the Athenians had sent against him;

others suppose the words οὐκ ἀναμείναντα are an interpolation, 23
and then it would refer to the ambassadors of Philip. Toureil proposes to put παρ' ἐκεῖνον which would be undoubtedly the best correction, and the sense would be, *not waiting for the ambassadors sent against him;* but the expression κατ' ἐκείνου, would be still more probable and more according to usage. For my part, I have corrected it by inserting τοὺς δὲ which had probably been effaced. Not only does the sense become clear and include the two ideas; *having flattered Philip and his envoys,* (εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, κ. τ. λ. p. 28 l. 3.) *and not having waited for our ambassadors;* but the ear is also gratified.

7. Κερσοβλέπτην,] *Cersobleptes* was the successor, although a younger son of Cotys, that cruel king, who shamefully slew his wife from jealousy. Cotys amused the Athenians by the show of a warm attachment as long as he had need of them in his ambitious projects, and afterwards broke his engagements. When the Athenians declared him a citizen of Athens, *I,* said he, *will make them citizens of Thrace.* Their friendly intercourse ended in a quarrel. The fortune of his son was exactly the reverse; for after a short war relating to the Chersonesus, the necessity of joining against their common enemy, Philip, reconciled them, and united them by all the ties of common wants.

22. οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχών,] The first means, *chosen by lot,* so that it related to the candidates for senators and magistrates, afterwards, to every one who was chosen by lot; another ἐπελάγχανεν, *was chosen, so that if the first was disapproved or should die, the second might take his place.*

23. ὑποδοχὴν] taken metaphorically from the reception given any one; that is to say, *in order that he* (Demosthenes) *might in every respect support Philocrates, by his words and actions, by a favorable reception of his motions.*

1. Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος] The month of *May.* During this month 25
they celebrated the feast of Diana, called Elaphebolia ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλάφους βάλλειν, *because they sacrificed deer* to this goddess.

2. Ἀσκληπιῷ] Demosthenes, without a precedent, summoned the Senate of Five Hundred on a festival day, during which there

25 was always a vacation, as upon the days ἀπευκτοὶ or ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, *days of ill omen.* Here I have departed from the common text, and chosen among different readings, that which seemed the best in every point of view.

23. ἐγένοντο διτταὶ ἐκκλησίαι·] All the editions have δὲ αἱ instead of διτταί. One is so much like the other, and it is so probable that it was mutilated in the manuscript, that we may, without fear, adopt the latter, which renders the sense clear and flowing. But by leaving δὲ αἱ, the whole phrase is without a *consequent,* ἀνακόλουθος; it would have stood thus: *when then the feast of Bacchus was passed, when the assemblies were held, and there had been read in the first of them, &c.,* and the following sentence not answering to the preceding ἐπειδή, the remainder of the sentence must have been wanting. According to my text it reads thus, *when the feast of Bacchus was passed, two assemblies were held; and in the first of them they read a common decree of the allies, of which I will mention the principal points in a few words.* Reason, and what follows, requires it to be so.

28. ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω] Here the comparative is used idiomatically. *By thinking that the peace was rather necessary than best;* the sense is, *that the peace was necessary, but not good,* ἀναγκαίαν μὲν, οὐ καλὴν δέ.

26 27. ἀποῤῥῆξαι, κ. τ. λ.] *to tear the alliance from the peace,* that is *to take away;* or rather *to make a peace without concluding an alliance.* The metaphor being too bold and harsh, gives Æschines some reason to blame the expression.

27 12. προκαθεζόμενος,] equivalent to προεδρεύων, *president,* which is its signification here, and not καθεζόμενος, simply *holding a seat in the assembly,* since in speaking of Demosthenes, just below, he says, τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

28. αὐτομολοῦσιν] a military term applied to deserters; here used metaphorically instead of ἀντιμεταβαλλομένους, *those who changed their party in the government.*

28 5. πρεσβρίαν] It means here that they gave them *the first seat, the place of honor.* The strictness of a republican would not be shocked at this politeness, but it seems to me

that there was the baseness of flattery in spreading *cushions*, 28
προσκεφάλαια, and hanging round the *purple tapestry*, φοινικίδας.

9. ζεύγη ὀρεικὰ,] synonymous with ἡμιονικὰ, *of a mule*; and not ὁρικὰ, *of the limits*. It comes from ὄρεις *a mule*, from ὄρος, since they are adapted to bear the fatigue of travelling on the mountains. Iliad, *A*. 50.

Οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπῴχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.

17. Χαριδήμου] *Charidemus*, a native of Oræa in Eubœa, was naturalized at Athens, and chosen general.

23. ἑβδόμην — τετελευτηκυίας,] *the seventh day after the death of his daughter*. This use of the accusative, instead of the dative, is elegant, and practised by many authors, thus Thucyd. VIII. 23. τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἥκοντος.

24. πενθῆσαι] this was to dress one's self in black, to shave, shut one's self up at home, and such like things, which were τὰ νομιζόμενα, *the last offices of respect to the dead*; duties that were established by *the law of custom*.

25. λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα] We may see from this passage, and a thousand others, that we receive the custom of expressing joy by *a white garment*, and grief by a black one, from the ancients; of these passages I will mention only one, that in Eurip. Phœnis. 328.

Ἄπεπλος φαρέων λευκῶν τένων.

26. τὴν μόνην — καὶ πρώτην] The word πρώτη, is here a pleonasm, since, being the only daughter, she was the first, as well as last. The order of the words being reversed, would supply this want of gradation. But is there not art in this seeming fault? this striking down his adversary, as with a battle-axe, before the audience, and then adding the second word, to finish the work? But all that Æschines says in accusation of Demosthenes, on account of his indifference to the death of his daughter, might be turned to his praise, since his country was before every thing, and we well know the stoicism of the ancients in this respect.

28. οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω,] Eurip. Orest. v. 4. κοὐκ ὀνειδίζω νύχες. The sense is, *I do not mention this misfortune to insult him*.

28 31. *σώματα*] The word here signifies *persons.*

29 5. *τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον*] *he did not change his character, but his place.* There is in these words what is called *παρονομασία, a play upon words,* that is full of grace.

29. *δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας,*] This explains the meaning of what he has just said, *διαφέρεσθαί τι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην,* as if they were disputing who should have the most of the money received from Philip.

30 15. *ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ*] *neutral and impartial.* This use of these words arises from its being necessary, in order to being truly neutral, that the party should be *equal* in power with, and *similar* to, *ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος,* those by whom it wishes to be respected. Without this, there can be neither neutrality or impartiality.

19. *περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος.*] *quarrelling about syllables.* Æschines treats Demosthenes as a caviller, who was particular even about syllables; because he had said with respect to Halonesus, that *if Philip δίδωσιν, should give it, and not restore it, μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, they ought not to receive it.* But in concluding a treaty with the crafty Macedonian, these two words were of great importance, since if they received it as a gift, it would be acknowledging that it belonged to Philip; but if they refused to receive it unless it were in restitution, it would be showing openly that Philip was an usurper, and that they, alone, had a lawful right over the city.

31 11. *ὑποσπόνδους*] *on certain conditions; having dictated to them certain conditions.*

12. *καὶ τὰς πόλεις, κ. τ. λ.*] *and you gave up its cities* (of Eubœa) *and its liberties, as was proper and just, to those who had given them in trust to you.* The word *αὐτῆς* instead of *αὐτὰς,* and *τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις* instead of *αὐτοῖς παρακαταθέμενοι,* will be found preferable on examining this part of the text.

18. *Πλουτάρχῳ*] This was a second expedition of the Athenians into Eubœa; when Plutarch, ruler of Eretria, asked their assistance against Philip who was threatening Eubœa, and afterwards betrayed them by joining him.

20. *Ταμύνας*] A city of Eubœa, near which Phocion defeat- 31
ed the Chalcidians. *Κοτύλαιον* is a mountain, near this city.

22. *ὑπερεβάλομεν,*] The detail that follows in the text leads me to think that the Athenians were not attacked till after they had passed the mountain, and were probably shut up in some recess or valley whence there was no egress; so that I have preferred the aorist, to the imperfect, commonly found in other editions.

30. *δεξιούμενος*] *who gives his right hand amicably; who is affable; who receives one favorably.* This word *δεξιούμενος* shows that the modern custom of shaking hands is derived from the ancients.

14. *Εὐβοϊκὸν, κ. τ. λ.*] *verbally calling together the assembly of* 32
Eubœa at Chalcis, but in effect fortifying Eubœa against you.

22. *καὶ πλείους — τοῦ Εὐρίπου,*] *having taken more turns than the Euripus.* This is a strait that separates Eubœa from the continent of Greece; its flux and reflux are very frequent every day, and although writers are not agreed as to the precise number of times that they take place daily, yet all allow that in no other sea are they so frequent. This gave rise to many proverbs among the ancients, as *ἄνθρωπος εὔριπος, a fickle man; εὔριπος διάνοια, a varying spirit; τύχη εὔριπος, changing fortune; εὐριπίζειν, to be in perpetual agitation.* They say that Aristotle not being able to discover the cause of this phenomenon threw himself into the Euripus, in despair, crying out "Since Aristotle has not been able to understand the sea, the sea shall understand Aristotle."

1. *τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα,*] Among the ancients there were 33
different kinds of races; but the principal were *στάδιον*, containing 125 geometrical paces; *δίαυλος*, having double that number; and *δόλιχος*, which was twelve stadia or more. The runners took their names from the different courses on which they exercised, *σταδιοδρόμοι, διαυλοδρόμοι, δολιχοδρόμοι.* The name *δίαυλος* was given, as its etymology indicates, because when they had arrived at the end of the course, they had to return on their steps and pass over the ground again till they came to the barrier, thereby making two straight lines, in the form of a flute.

33 8. *ἐγκαταληφθέντι,*] from *ἐγκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, to be seized,* and not *ἐγκαταλειφθέντι* from *ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι, to be abandoned;* unless we refer it to the word *δῆμος,* that is, *abandoned by the people of Athens;* but the sense would then be rather forced.

12. *συντάξεις.*] *subsidies.* This name was given to the contributions of the allies or others over whom they had an influence, but who were not considered exactly as subjects, with regard to whom they employed the word *φόρος, tribute.*

19. *καὶ Χαλκιδέας*] I have restored the *καὶ* which not only gives greater force, but also expresses to the hearer, according to the intention of Æschines, how little Demosthenes had cared for the interest of the Athenians when he said, *having written for form's sake, and that the Chalcidians should assist the Athenians if any one attacked them.*

25. *ὑστέρας*] Most other editions have *ὑστέρας ποιεῖσθαι,* but the repetition is entirely without grace, and must have been inserted by the copyist. It is too unpleasant to require the least hesitation in removing it. And I have also changed, upon my own authority, the word *πρότερον* to *προτέρας.*

27. *γραφὴν*] is here put for a *letter.* It is used in this way by the modern Greeks; but seldom as meaning an *accusation.*

30. *οἱ καιροὶ*] *the opportunities have been sold, important as they were.* The article is as proper when joined to *καιροὶ,* as it would be wrong if it were annexed to the words that follow.

34 6. *ὁρώντων, φρονούντων, βλεπόντων*] *whilst you were perceiving, thinking, seeing.* There is a gradation in these words; *ὁρᾶν* and *βλέπειν* are synonymous, although the first is used here metaphorically for seeing with the intellectual sight, or perceiving, and the second for seeing with our own eyes.

35 12. *Ἀνθεστηριῶνος*] *of the month of April;* during which they celebrated the feast of Bacchus called *Ἀνθεστήρια,* from *ἄνθος,* that is, *feast of flowers, διὰ τὸ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνθεῖν τότε.*

15. *Καὶ γάρ τι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος*] *For this fellow does something peculiar and uncommon.* Other editions have *Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος,* but according to my correction the passage is

more energetic, and more natural; so that there probably was 35
a mistake of the copyist.

2. *συστρέψας,*] This word is used metaphorically from dif- 36
ferent animals, and particularly the serpent, that coils itself up to collect its force before attacking. As if he said; *Diverting your attention from his fraud, and having suspended you in hope, then collecting his strength for the last blow, or seizing the favorable moment for his great attack, he orders, &c.* *Ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία συστρέψαντα ἑαυτὰ μάχεται, τοιαύτη τις ἂν εἴη συ-σροφὴ καὶ λόγου, καθάπερ συσπειραμένου πρὸς δεινότητα.* Demetrius Phalereus, § 8.

7. *εἰς Ἄρεον, κ. τ. λ.*] I have here on my own authority corrected the text which I considered defective; for I could not leave it, as it stands in other editions, *εἰς Ἄρεον πρὸς τὰς Ἀρείτας πρίσβεις, οἵτινες δεήσονται καὶ αὐτοί·* the reasons for doing so, and the obscurity, at first sight, of *Ἀρείτας πρίσβεις,* that seem to agree together, are too evident to need explanation.

9. *πέρας ἁπάντων ἐν*] I have preferred this instead of the common *περὶ ἁπάντων ἐπὶ,* for it is stronger. It has much the same force as, *to put the seal to his wickedness.*

28. *δι᾽ ὃ*] more commonly *διὸ, therefore;* but *δι᾽ ὅ, for which,* is preferable, since it is referred to *τάλαντον,* more naturally than to *λαβών.*

11. *ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν·*] *till they have paid the prin-* 37
pal. The word *κεφάλαιον* is used in modern Greek in the same sense; *ὅποιος ζητεῖ πολὺ διάφορον χάνει καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, he who asks too high interest, loses principal and interest too.*

28. *τὸ Κιρραῖον*] *Cirrha* was a town of Phocis, at the foot of mount Parnassus, thirty stadia from Delphi. It seems that the city gave its name to a plain in the neighbourhood.

29. *ἐξάγιστος*] *polluted;* as if he should say *λίαν ἐναγὴς καὶ ἔμπλεος ἄγους,* which last word is equivalent to *μύσος, μίασμα.*

31. *Ἀκραγαλλίδαι,*] a people of Phocis, near Cirrha.

3. *Ἀμφικτίονας·*] *The Amphictyons* were the deputies of the 38
people and cities of Greece, who represented the whole nation, and were similar to the *States General.* They had full power to concert, resolve upon, and order whatever seemed to them

38 to be for the public good. Amphictyon, third king of Athens, instituted them, in order to unite the Greeks more closely, and form of them one nation, whose union might excite terror and respect in the Barbarians. Afterwards, Acrisius, king of Argos, perfected the institution. The Amphictyons assembled twice a year; in autumn, at Thermopylæ, in the temple of Ceres, built in the middle of a large plain near the river Asopus; in the spring, at Delphi, in the famous temple of Apollo. The Amphictyonic nations were twelve in number, and each one had a right to send two deputies; the one called *ἱερομνήμων, keeper of the sacred records*, was charged with every thing relating to religion, and was superior to the other, called *Πυλαγόρας, orator sent as deputy to Thermopylæ, παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Πυλαῖς ἀγορεύειν.* The former was chosen by lot; the latter by an extension of the hand.

12. *Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ*] At Delphi they honored Minerva under the name *Προναία, διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἱδρύσθαι, because they had erected a temple for her opposite to that of Apollo.* Hesychius speaks of it thus, *Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς τέμενος ἐν Δελφοῖς*, as if he would say *Minerva, before the temple.* At Athens they worshipped the same goddess under the name *Πρόνοια, ὅτι προὐνόησεν ὅπως τέκοι ἡ Λητώ, because having foreseen the time of Latona's confinement, she prepared every thing that was necessary.* But as they are speaking here of the Minerva of Delphi, and not of the one at Athens, I have without hesitation put *Προναίᾳ* instead of *Προνοίᾳ*.

15. *Σόλωνος*] According to Plutarch, Solon there applied himself to poetry, as an amusement for his leisure hours; but afterwards used it for inculcating the most important maxims of philosophy. The same author gives us several fragments on different subjects. If we may believe Diogenes Laërtius, he composed more than four thousand verses.

28. *προστροπὴν*] *imprecation*, or *invocation of the vengeance of heaven, for the stain of a crime.* This word comes from *τρόπαιον*, since those who slew any of the enemy after the trophy was set up, were considered as *προστρόπαιοι*, synonymous with *ἐναγεῖς, stained with crime.*

20. *οἱ Λοκροὶ*] *The Locrians* were divided into *Ὀζόλαι*, 39
Ozolæ, from *ὄζουσιν ὅλοι*, and had *Amphissa* for their capital, *Ἄμφισσαν οὕτω κληθεῖσαν διὰ τὸ ἐμπεριέχεσθαι τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς κειμένοις· Ἐπιζεφύριοι*, *Opuntians*, because they lived by the sea; and in *Ἐπικνημίδιοι*, *Epicnemidii*, who lived near mount Cnemis.

8. *τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην*,] The first of these words means, 40
the supreme intelligence; the second, *the goddess who presides over events, Fortune.* But they are sometimes both used in the last sense, by a mere pleonasm, as in Latin, *forte fortuna.*

11. *Μειδίαν*] This was the same *Midias* who struck Demosthenes in the full theatre; and against whom the latter wrote an oration that is still extant.

12. *Ἀναγυράσιον*] *Ἀναγυροῦς* was a borough of the Erecthean tribe, where it was pretended there grew a fetid plant, which gave rise to the proverb *ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν*, applied to those who touch any thing to their own injury.

13. *Λέκκιον*,] It is commonly written *Λέσβιον*, but I have prefered *Λέκκιον*, because *Λέκκος* was a borough of the Antiochian tribe.

24. *καινὸν — ἐξαράσασθαι*,] In speaking here of the new temple he does not mean that there were two at Delphi, but refers to the same one, which having been burnt was rebuilt by the Amphictyons. It is said that this temple remained for a long time unfinished, till the emperor Nero, passing that way, finished it. Hence we find *πρὶν ἐξειργάσθαι* and *ἐξεργάσασθαι*, *before the work was finished.* But I have preferred the reading *ἐξαράσασθαι*, which means *to consecrate, ἐκτελέσαι τὰς ἀρὰς, τουτέστι τὰς εἰχὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱδρύσεσι τῶν ναῶν, αἳ εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι.* They might accuse the Athenians for consecrating the golden bucklers, in the new temple, before the customary ceremonies had been performed; but I do not see how they could do so, because they had consecrated them before the work was finished.

26. *ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων*,] The Persians and Medes having been united by the victories of Cyrus, sometimes the name Medes was given to the Persians. The first time they

40 came to attack Greece, the Thebans joined them and assisted them in their enterprise.

41 9. *ὁ Κρώβυλος ἐκεῖνος*] The word *ἐκεῖνος*, *this*, is emphatic and shows that Crobylus was well known. Harpocration says that it was a surname of Hegesippus, the orator; which was probably the case; *κρώβυλος* signifying in Greek *a tuft of hair bound up*. But we do not know on what subject, or on what occasion, he had proposed an alliance with the Phocians.

42 2. *ἀφοσιῶ·*] *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκαθαίρω, ἀφαγνίζω*, Harpoc. *I keep our city pure from pollution as to the worship of the gods*, or *I rescue our country from the guilt of sacrilege.*

3. *ἐνῆρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ,*] word for word, it means, *the baskets have begun*, but is metaphorically used for *the divine service has begun*, since there were never any sacrifices without baskets in which to put the offerings, knife, and other things necessary in the ceremony; and the procession always began with carrying the baskets. Many passages would explain the phrase, but it will suffice to mention Eurip. Electr. 1142.

Κανοῦν δ' ἐνῆρκται καὶ τεθηγμένη σφαγίς.

Some however think that it ought to be *ἐνῆρται* or *ἐπῆρται*, induced by the passage of Aristoph. Aves, 851.

Παῖ, παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἴρεσθε καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα.

23. *ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῶσι,*] *those who attained the age of puberty two years since*, that is, *those who are sixteen years old.*

26. *Θυτεῖον*] name of a place so called *παρὰ τὸ θύειν*, as if we should say, *the place of victims.*

43 9. *ἐκκλησίαν — τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων*] The Amphictyons had two sorts of assemblies. In the *συνέδριον*, *particular assembly*, only the deputies from Greece were present; in extraordinary cases they called together *ἐκκλησία*, *a general assembly*, where each one might take a part in the deliberations, but the right of voting was reserved to the deputies alone. The others who were present on the occasion were called *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων*, *the commonalty of the Amphictyons.*

12. *χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ.*] *Those who questioned the oracle.* For they said *ὁ Ἀπόλλων χρᾷ*, in speaking of its responses, and of those who questioned it, *χρῶνται.*

16. *πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης Πυλαίας*] *before the approaching assembly,* 43
τῆς ὡρισμένης καὶ τεταγμένης ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, at Thermopylæ, at an appointed time, which was a *σύγκλητος Πυλαία,* having a decree which they *carried from home, οἴκοθεν ἐπενεγκόντες.*

23. *ὑφ' ἡμῶν*] *this decree having been rendered by us Πυλαγορῶν·* he says *we,* as being one of those who had been nominated deputies to the Council of the Amphictyons.

6. *διαφειμένων*] and *the people having been dismissed.* This 44
is preferable to the common reading *δὲ ἀφειμένων.*

27. *πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως*] *τῶν Θηβῶν, Thebes,* entirely ruined by Alexander.

31. *τὸν Φαρσάλιον*] This does not agree with what is found in a decree cited by Demosthenes, p. 141. l. 3. from which it seems that Cottyphus was an Arcadian. But Pharsalia was a town of Thessaly, and there was none of that name in Arcadia. It might be that Cottyphus was an native of Arcadia, who had settled in Pharsalia; and that Æschines spoke of his adopted country.

17. *Σκύθας*] Philip having a personal quarrel with Atheas, 45
king of Scythia, marched against him, defeated his numerous army, and took considerable booty.

22. *φωνὰς προηκάμενοι;*] *having almost uttered human voices.* It is formed from the verb *ἵημαι,* and is preferable to the common *προσκτησάμενοι,* since we say *ἀφίημι φωνήν.*

26. *ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή;*] *the death of the initiated.* It relates to the circumstance reported on this occasion, that the initiated going into the sea to purify themselves, two were destroyed by a whale.

2. *ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων*] These two words mean the 46
same thing; *sacrifices with bad auspices,* and are one of those elegant pleonasms used to strengthen or weaken the sense; *ἱερὰ ἄθυτα, sacrifices that are not sacrifices,* to express *τὰ μὴ καλὰ γενόμενα,* a common mode of speaking among the Greeks, like *βίος ἀβίωτος, χάρις ἄχαρις,* and many others.

19. *ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ — αἰτῶν*] It was the customary manner among the Persians, when exacting submission of those whom they wish to subject to themselves, *to ask for land and water.*

46 31. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*] *The Lacedæmonians*, having assisted the Phocians in a war which they sustained against several nations of Greece, for having profaned the lands sacred to Apollo, were suspected in the course of the war of having had some share with the Phocians in first pillaging the temple.

47 3. *ὁμηρεύσοντες*] *To serve as hostages.* *Ὅμηροί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ συμβάσει διδόμενοι.* Harpocr. The Lacedæmonians wishing to throw off the Macedonian yoke, when Alexander was carrying on war in Asia, revolted and engaged all Peloponnesus on their side. But their attempt did not succeed. They were conquered by Antipater, who allowed them to send an embassy to the king to learn their fate from his own mouth.

8. *ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,*] Æschines, by calling Athens the common asylum of Greece, bestowed on it the highest praise; but he only used the words of Apollo, who, being consulted by the Lacædemonians to know whether they should destroy Athens, answered, *τὴν κοινὴν Ἑλλάδος ἑστίαν μὴ κινεῖν, they should not touch the common asylum of Greece.*

16. *Ἡσιόδος*] The poet *Hesiod* is commonly thought to have been contemporary with Homer. It is said that he was born at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, but that he was brought up and educated at Ascra, in Bœotia, which afterwards passed for his country. All the poetry that we have from him is in hexameter verse. His works are, 1. Works and Days; 2. The Theogony; 3. The Shield of Hercules. From the first of them, the following lines were taken.

20. *γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν,*] *For I think it is on this account that, when children, we learn by heart the maxims of the poets.* It was an ancient custom in Greece to teach the children the maxims of the poets. By this kind of study the young exercised their memories, improved their minds, and formed their hearts, which was the principal end proposed; since they were inspired, early with a hatred of vice and love of virtue. There were many works formed entirely of short sentences; such were, the moral poem of Theognis, the instructions of Phocylides, the Golden Verses attributed commonly to Pythagoras, &c. And in general, the works of the

Greek poets abound in passages proper for instructing men in all ranks and conditions of life. We may say that reading the poets leads to the love of virtue, since seeing the words and actions of great and good men, we wish to resemble them; for poetry has peculiar charms to attract the mind, and to fix good impressions in the memory and upon the heart. 47

3. *Φρυνώνδας, — Εὐρύβατος,*] The first was a famous cheat and villain, who having executed many fraudulent plans, left his name to be given to others of the same class. *Φρυνώνδας τῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ διαβεβοημένων· ὃς ξένος ὢν κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ διέτριβεν Ἀθήνησιν.* The second was from Ephesus, and was sent by Crœsus with a large sum of money, nominally, to be carried to Delphi; but, in fact, that he might recruit as many soldiers as possible in the Peleponnesus, for a war that the king of Lydia was carrying on against Persia. Eurybatus instead of effecting his mission, betrayed the cause, and revealed the whole to Cyrus. This treachery being remarkable among the Greeks, when they wished to reproach any one for his roguery they called him an Eurybatus. *Εὐρύβατος πονηρός· ἀπὸ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Κροίσου ἐπὶ ξενολογίαν μετὰ χρημάτων — εἶτα μεταβαλλομένου πρὸς Κῦρον.* Suidas. 48

5. *μάγος καὶ γόης*] These words are in some degree synonymous; *μάγος*, an honorable appellation, as applied to Persian priests, is here used entirely in the signification in which it is employed by the modern Greeks, viz. *one who by sorcery, or rather by jugglers' tricks, seeks to deceive the world; γόης* means an *impostor who invokes evil spirits, and the dead, that he may more easily ensnare the superstitious and the ignorant.*

14. *Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς,*] *Κόλλυτος δῆμός ἐστι τῆς Αἰγηΐδος φυλῆς,* which sufficiently distinguishes him from Thrasybulus, the famous restorer of Athenian liberty, who was *Στειριεύς.*

24. *προτρέψασθαι, κ. τ. λ.*] *to engage them to enter into alliance with us.* The ancient enmity between the Thebans and Athenians went so far that Pindar having said *λιπαραὶ καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι, splendid and celebrated Athens, the bulwark of Greece,* was condemned to pay a heavy fine, which the Athenians doubly discharged; and they also erected a statue of bronze to him.

49 1. *Ἐλάτειαν*] This was a city of Phocis near Thebes. It was an important post both for the Thebans and even the Athenians; as was shown by the consternation its capture caused among the latter.

13. *τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε,*] *He hated the Thebans still more, as the event showed,* says Æschines; since Philip, after the battle of Chæronea, where the Athenians and Thebans were conquered together, treated the latter much the more severely; putting a garrison in their city, whilst he concluded a peace with the Athenians, and sent back their prisoners without ransom.

20. *ἔκδοτον — Βοιωτίαν — Θηβαίοις,*] *He gave up Bœotia to the Thebans.* It must be remembered that Thebes was the capital, and not the mistress of Bœotia. The sovereign council assembled at Thebes, when the principal towns, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Platæa, and several others, sent their deputies called *Bœotarchs,* chiefs or rulers of Bœotia.

23. *Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις,*] This is a circumlocution, meaning *the Thebans.* It is used by the orator to avoid offending the ear of his hearers, who had almost always been mortal enemies of the Thebans, and friends of the other Bœotians. It is for this reason that Æschines accuses Demosthenes *of deceiving the people by artful expressions,* *ὀνόμασι κλέπτων τὰ πράγματα,* the word *κλέπτων* is here synonymous with *κρύπτων.*

50 4. *Στρατοκλέα,*] No general of the name of *Stratocles* is mentioned in history as commanding the troops of the Athenians after their alliance with the Thebans. Chares and Lysicles are mentioned as commanders of the Athenian army at the battle of Chæronea; it may, however, have been under the orders of Stratocles in several lesser engagements before that battle.

17. *Καδμείαν,*] The name of the citadel of Thebes.

24. *διαδικασίαν*] *Dispute concerning priority.* *Διαδικασία· οὐχ ἁπλῶς πᾶσα δίκη διαδικασία καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς περί τινος ἀμφισβήτησίς ἐστιν, ὅτῳ προσήκει μᾶλλον.* Bekkeri Anecdd. p. 236. What the Germans call *prioritätsstreit.*

29. *καὶ τοὺς μυρίους, κ. τ. λ.*] *Having placed the ten thousand* 50
mercenary soldiers in the pay of the inhabitants of Amphissa.
I know of no historian who mentions the fact here related by Æschines.

23. *λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν*] An allusion to the cowardice of Demos- 51
thenes at the battle of Chæronea, where he threw away his shield and shamefully fled from his post.

24. *ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος*] Most of the nations of Greece, and in particular the Thebans, declared war against the Phocians, who had profaned, by cultivating them, the lands consecrated to Apollo. This war was very long, and was called *the Phocian* or *sacred war.*

4. *Φειδίας*] *Phidias*, a famous ancient sculptor, who, togeth- 52
er with the greatest skill in his art, possessed a highly cultivated mind. One of his principal works was his statue of Minerva. Alcamenes and he had been engaged to make a statue of this goddess, to be placed upon a very high pillar. When the two statues were finished, they were brought forward and shown in public. The Minerva of Alcamenes, when the spectators stood near it, appeared an admirable piece of workmanship and was preferred by all. That of Phidias was thought hideous, and both sculptor and statue were greatly ridiculed. "Place them," said he, "on the pillar where they are to stand." They were placed there by turns, and the Minerva of Alcamenes no longer appeared worthy of applause, while that of Phidias had such an air of grandeur and of majesty that the spectators gazed at it with unwearied admiration.

8. *Κλεοφῶντος*] This is probably the same *Cleophon* mentioned in the oration of Æschines on the *False Embassy*, in the pleadings of Lysias *against Agoratus*, and *against Nicomachus*, and in some comedies of Aristophanes, particularly that of the *Frogs*; *Ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ναυμαχίαν, Λακεδαιμονίων βουλομένων ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀπιέναι, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, Κλεοφῶν ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον μὴ προσδέξασθαι, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυκώς, οὐ φάσκων ἐπιτρέψειν, ἐὰν μὴ πάσας ἀφῶσι*

52 τὰς πόλεις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κλεοφῶν ὡς ξένος κωμῳδεῖται καὶ βάρβαρος. Scholiast on v. 1574. See also v. 1541. and v. 690.

27. ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν.] It was the custom of the Athenians to bring to the city the bones of the citizens who died fighting for their country, to bury them at the public expense, and to choose an orator to pronounce an eulogy over them. Demosthenes was chosen for those who fell at Chæronea, and he shows in his speech how much he was gratified by the choice. The eulogy was commonly pronounced on the spot where the bones of the soldiers had been interred.

53 12. Ἕλλην καὶ] The καὶ is here used in explanation of Ἕλλην, and this signification appears to me more consistent with the ideas prevalent at that time, than that which we should derive from the common reading, Ἕλλην ἢ καί.

18. τοὺς ὀρφανούς,] Plato in the Menexenes, which contains a funeral oration, speaks of the custom here mentioned by Æschines, and nearly in the same terms.

28. τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ, ἢ τί φθέγξεται;] *What will he proclaim, or what will he say?* This appears to me preferable to ἂν ἐρεῖ, and the more so because ἄν ought not to be construed with the future indicative. If it be erased, the two words will have nearly the same signification, and I do not believe that this is one of the pleonasms frequently used for the sake of elegance. If the orator had used it in that sense, he would perhaps have put καὶ instead of ἤ. The use of the latter particle sufficiently shows that these two words must have a different signification, and this is in favor of the reading I have adopted, although this future is rarely used, the aorist ἀνεῖπε being much more common.

30. σιωπηθήσεται,] The first future middle σιωπήσεται is more common, but I have not hesitated to adopt σιωπηθήσεται as having a greater analogy with the modern future, θὰ νὰ σιωπηθῇ· for the modern Greek is a true guide to the critic, since it contains valuable remains of the ancient idiom, which will throw light upon the sense of authors that often appear obscure on account of the incorrect interpretation

of words, the true signification of which is yet retained in 53
the modern language; it is also a valuable assistance in choosing from various readings, preventing us from altering a text in which the passage that appears defective is merely an idiom, still found in the living tongue, and thus proved to be rightly used.

6. ἴστατε] Several critics write ἱστᾶτε, but this is an error; 54
the accent should be on the antepenult.

13. τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον·] *The royal gold*, that is, the gold of Darius, king of Persia, who, seeing that Philip after invading Greece intended to attack his kingdom, used all his power in support of Demosthenes, the fiercest enemy of the king of Macedonia. The orator, who loved his country, defended it against the ambition of Philip, who vainly sought to bribe him; but as he was no enemy to wealth, he was not sorry to be able at the same time to consult the interests of Athens by favoring the views of Darius, when consistent with the welfare of his country, and to augment his own fortune from the immense riches of this prince. He thus gratified two passions, one of which was far from being so noble as the other.

15. νομίσατε ὁρᾶν, κ. τ. λ.] There can be nothing more touching and more pathetic than this description of Thebes in flames, and we cannot cast our eyes upon this admirable picture, without being deeply affected.

31. ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ] *That no one may carelessly expose the persons of the Greeks.* The root of this word is σχεδία, *a vessel hastily constructed*, ναῦς ἀκατασκεύαστος, ἀπὸ ξύλων μόνον ἀπερίττως συντεθειμένη, from σχεδὸν, *nearly*, as being nearly, but yet not completely finished.

15. Ναυσικλεῖ] *Nausicles*, an Athenian general, distinguish- 55
ed on several occasions by his liberality towards the state. He is mentioned in the oration of Demosthenes. (P. 127, l. 27.)

18. πάλιν αὖ] This is an Attic *parallelism* sometimes used, and preferable to the common reading πάλιν αὐτός. (See p. 123, l. 5.)

19. Παυσανίου,] *Pausanias* was a young nobleman of the court of Philip, who had not been able to obtain justice from that prince, and who assassinated him to revenge himself.

55 19. *ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ δ' εὐαγγελίων εἰς θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν,*] *On account of good news, he induced the senate to make sacrifices.* I have followed my own judgment in thus correcting the text, which is commonly read thus, *εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησε,* which gives the same sense as: *αἰτιᾶσθαι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ εὐαγγέλια θύσαι.* Some editions have *εὐαγγελίων καὶ θυσίας,* that is, *καὶ θύσαι ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἠγγελμένοις.* Reiske adds after *κατέστησε* the word *ποιῆσαι,* and I presume that he gives to the word *αἰτία,* the same signification as I do. In that case his whole sentence gives the same sense as mine, which being at the same time more concise and more closely according to the text, appears preferable. We still say at the present day, *ἐπὶ τίνι αἰτίᾳ ἦλθε, what is the motive which made him come,* or *on what account did he come;* but even giving to the word *αἰτία,* the signification *accusation,* my correction has some advantage.

21. *Μαργίτην*] This word is composed of the negative particle *μὴ* and *ἔργον, work,* thus meaning *good for nothing.* This name was given to silly persons on account of the satirical poem called *Μαργίτης· ὃς πολλὰ μὲν ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα,* attributed to Homer and no longer extant. It describes the character of its hero in these terms:

> *Τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ σκαπανῆα θέσαν θεοὶ, οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα,*
> *Οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν.*

Suidas says that Margites was a man celebrated for his idiocy. He affirms that this prince of fools could not count beyond five; that after his marriage he was afraid to live with his wife, lest she should tell it to their common friends; that when he was grown up, he put this curious question to his mother, whether she and he were not children of the same father.

22. *ὡς οὐ κινηθήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας,*] This prediction of Demosthenes was soon proved false by the extravagant ambition of Alexander, of whom Plutarch relates, that when he heard the philosopher Anaxarchus say that there was an infinity of worlds, he shed tears from the despair which he felt of ever being able to conquer them all, since, as yet, he had been unable to conquer a single one.

23. *Πέλλη*] Edessa was originally the residence of the kings 55
of Macedonia, and afterwards *Pella*, still more famous for the birth of Philip and of Alexander. Livy describes at length the advantageous situation of this town, and mentions that the consul Paulus Emilius, after having attentively examined it, declared that it was no wonder the kings of Macedonia had chosen for their capital so strong a place, the only entrance to which was by a bridge, which could be easily guarded by a handful of men.

24. *σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα·*] Some critics understand by this passage that Alexander, fearful for his life, examined the entrails of the victims seeking for good omens for his personal safety. This interpretation appears to me too far fetched to be correct, and I am inclined to think the sense is, *he was satisfied with walking through his capital, and preserving his life,* since, naturally, if he lost his entrails he lost his life. It is an idiomatic phrase, and we still say in modern Greek, *μὴ χάσῃς τἄντερά σου,* in the sense of *take care you do not lose your life;* as in Italian, *salvar la pancia pei fichi,* and in German, *zu seinen kutteln sorge tragen.*

1. *Κιθαιρῶνος*] *Cithæron*, a celebrated mountain in Bœotia, 56
consecrated to Bacchus. It is said to be derived from the Syriac or Phœnician *kathar*, signifying a *rock.*

7. *πάραλοι*] Instead of the common reading *παράλιοι. Πάραλος* was one of the galleys despatched on public business, and so called from some hero of this name. The crew were called *πάραλοι,* they received four oboli a day for their service, and remained at home the greater part of the year. They had also some other privileges granted by the city. They were called not only *πάραλοι* but also *παραλῖται.* Reiske conjectures *Φαρσάλιοι* to be the proper word.

9. *Ἀριστίων Πλαταϊκὸς,*] *Aristion, a Platæan.* *Οὗτος Σάμιος μέν ἐστιν ἢ Πλαταιεύς, ὡς Δίνυλλός φησιν, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου ἑταῖρος Δημοσθένους. Ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἕνεκα διαλλαγῶν, ὥς φησι Μαρσύας ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον.* Harpocr.

56 17. *ὑποτρέχει*] This word is used figuratively, and signifies *to insinuate, to steal imperceptibly into favor.* It is like the German *sich bey einem einschleichen.*

26. *ἀκατασκεύων*] Used in three manuscripts of Bekker for the common *ἀπαρασκεύων*, which was probably introduced by the negligence of transcribers; for the sense of *ἀκατασκεύων* is better and more consistent, *while his own affairs were not yet settled, were still in confusion;* it is here almost synonymous with *τεταραγμένων.*

57 2. *σαυτοῦ*] Better and more forcible than the common reading *ἑαυτῷ.*

9. *ἃς ἐξηρτημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιῄεις,*] *The letters which, hanging from between your fingers, you showed around to one person after another;* a description of the manner of Demosthenes, by which the orator meant to say, *the letters which you showed with great ostentation and ceremony.*

11. *χρυσόκερων, κ. τ. λ.*] *He called me the bull with gilded horns;* that is, a man on the point of perishing, a man just going to be slain. This is an allusion to the custom of gilding the horns of oxen, when about to be sacrificed. The same thing was done to any large victim. The smaller victims, as the goat and the ram, were merely crowned with leaves of the plant consecrated to each divinity, as the oak to Jupiter, the laurel to Apollo, the olive to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus, the poplar to Hercules, the ivy to Bacchus. Homer in the Odyssey, book III, speaks of a bull with gilded horns.

12. *κατεστέφθαι*] *I have been crowned like a victim.* Thus when Philip consulted the Pythian priestess with regard to his expedition against the Persians, she answered: *Ἕστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων.* The event soon showed that the oracle related to Philip, and not to the Persians.

14. *εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλε καλλίω.*] *You waited for a better opportunity*, ironically, and as a reproach. Some critics read it interrogatively: *εἰς τίνα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλου καλλίω; for what better opportunity do you wait?*

17. *Κόρραγον*] The different interpreters and commentors cannot agree whether the word *Corragus* is the name of a man

who commanded the army which was cut to pieces, or the name 57
of a town; and we have no history sufficiently minute to enable us to decide with regard to these details, and to fix the signification of the word. The *περὶ*, however, is favorable to the latter opinion, in coincidence with Ortelius, who in his Dictionary counts Corragus among the towns or fortresses of Macedonia, quoting in his support not only Æschines, but also Livy.

21. *ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, κ. τ. λ.*] *Alexander*, after the defeat of Darius, had penetrated into the nothern part of Asia, towards the Arctic pole. The orator, either for exaggeration, or because the Greeks in truth knew nothing beyond this, says that he had passed the arctic pole, and almost overpassed the boundaries of the universe.

1. *Ἀμπελουργῶσι, κ. τ. λ.*] *Some manage the state like a vine-* 58
yard; some have cut the shoots of the people; the nerves of business are severed; we are sewed up in narrow places as in mats; some thread us like needles. These metaphors are very strange, and appear very inelegant, and the more so because they do not at all resemble the style of Demosthenes; but it is probable that his artful antagonist brings together into a single passage what was said at very different times and in very different places. Let us hear, however, upon this passage, the opinion of a celebrated orator. Cicero, after having spoken of Demosthenes as an orator full of circumspection, and better acquainted than any one else with the exact import and propriety of words, adds: "Æschines, however, attacks him for certain harsh, disgusting, and insupportable expressions; he does more; for addressing him by the insulting name of beast, he asks him if these are expressions or monsters. So that Demosthenes himself, in the opinion of Æschines, offends the delicacy of an Attic ear. But it is very easy," continues Cicero, "to criticise a word spoken in a moment of warmth, and to make it a subject of ridicule when the feelings of the hearers have cooled. Demosthenes, too, merely defends himself in a pleasant way, and asserts that the safety of the Greeks does not depend upon a word or a gesture." The last expression is com-

58 monly written τινὲς πρῶτον, but the adverb makes no sense here, and I have therefore preferred to put ἡμᾶς. Some read τοὺς πρώτους, that is, the first magistrates; there are even some who read ἡμῖν τὸν πρωκτὸν, or πρωκτὸν τὸν Ἀθηναίων. But this reading gives us an image so ridiculous, and so indelicate, that it is not probable that we ought to lay it to the charge of Demosthenes.

5. κίναδος;] When neuter, it signifies an animal whose skin was used in making helmets. It has been thought by some, however, to be a generic term, applied to all kinds of animals, and especially the fox. Σικελιῶται δὲ τὸ κίναδος ἀλώπεκα ἐκάλων. Κίναιδος, the masculine, signifies a *debauchee*.

59 8. ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης] *The irregularity of his expenses*, that is, *his profusion in licentious and dissolute pleasures.*

23. ἐκ Κεραμέων,] Κεραμεῖς was a borough of the Acamantian tribe, and had this name ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης, καὶ τοῦ θύειν Κεράμῳ τινὶ ἥρωϊ.

24. Νύμφαιον] A village or town of Pontus, which paid every year one talent as a tribute to the Athenians. There was another town of this name in Tauric Chersonesus, between Panticapæum and Theodosia.

29. Κήπους,] This was a town near the Bosphorus, called Κῆποι, the *Gardens*. It is very possible that it stood at the same place near Constantinople, which is now called *Bactzekioi*, which likewise signifies *gardens*, in the Turkish language.

60 2. συνῴκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὁτῳδήποτε,] *He married one of them to I shall not say whom.* The name which Æschines here suppresses through policy, Demosthenes himself reveals to us in the beginning of his second speech *against Aphobus*. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, Δημοχάρης ἔχων ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς, θυγατέρα δὲ Γύλωνος. Our orator here acknowledges, then, that he was, by his mother, grandson of Gylon, and that Democharès had married his maternal aunt. This passage must have escaped Plutarch, who seems to doubt what Æschines here asserts, and speaks thus in his Life of Demosthenes: Δημοσθένης, ὁ πατὴρ Δημοσθένους, ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος· ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιροποιὸς, ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα, καὶ

δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας. Ἃ δ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ 60
εἴρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρὸς ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ προδοσίας φυγόντος ἐξ ἄστεος γεγόνει, καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικὸς, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, εἴτ' ἀληθῶς εἴρηκεν, εἴτε βλασφημῶν καταψευδόμενος. Plutarch has doubts with regard to this genealogy of Demosthenes, the truth of which, however, the latter confesses himself, as we have just seen. Æschines, then, said nothing but the truth on that score.

4. *παριδὼν τοὺς — νόμους*] *In spite of the laws*, according to which he who was convicted of having married a foreigner, and not an *ἀστῆν*, was punished for it, as may be seen in the oration of Demosthenes *against Neæra.*

5. *ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης οὗτος*] *This cunning and calumniating Demosthenes;* commonly without the word *οὗτος* which, however, is here emphatic, and gives strength. As to the word *συκοφάντης* it is composed of *σῦκον, fig*, and *φαίνω, I declare;* because the Athenians having forbidden by law the exportation of figs out of Attica, thus gave occasion to the lower people to accuse and attack each other in a thousand ways. As these accusations were often ungrounded, and strongly resembled calumny, the word sycophant came to be used for calumniator.

12. *λογογράφος*] This was the name given to one who wrote, for a compensation, speeches relating to trials, and differs from the word *λογοποιὸς* which signifies one who writes a few speeches and fables.

17. *ἐπικέκλυκε*] *The gold of Persia overflowed his expenses*, used figuratively for *the gold of Persia was furnished abundantly for his expenses.*

2. *λοιπὸν ὑπομνῆσαι, κ. τ. λ.*] *I have only to remind you of the* 61
laws against cowards. Τούτους ἔδει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων, ἀτίμους εἶναι, καὶ ὁπόσοι λίποιεν τὴν τάξιν, ἢ ἀστρατείας ἢ δειλίας ὄφλοιεν, ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβάλοιεν. Andocid. *περὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων.* Lysias also mentions the same thing against Alcibiades *Ἀειποταξίας.* The Spartans also, notwithstanding their military government, did not punish such persons with death; but they were degraded, they were declared infamous, it was

61 unlawful to transact any business with them, in a word, they lived as if they were dead in a civil point of view. On this point we cannot avoid condemning Demosthenes, whose silence with regard to it is a proof of conviction; for if he could have denied the fact, he would have done it, and with no little stir.

12. ἔξω τῶν περιῤῥαντηρίων, κ. τ. λ.] Literally, *excluded them from the lustral vessels in the forum*, or better, *excluded them from the purifying ablution used by those who assembled in the forum*, or still more freely, *excluded them from all participation in the assemblies*. The word περιῤῥαντήριον is composed of περὶ, *around*, and ῥαίνω, *I water*, and signifies the vase in which was kept the purifying water. These were commonly placed in the temples, in the avenues to the forum, and at the places where roads met. Special care was taken also to place them at the doors of private houses, when any one died in the family, and the water was sprinkled over those who were present at the funeral. A branch of the olive tree was used for this purpose, and the purifying water was consecrated by the plunging in of a lighted brand, taken from the altar, while the victim was burning. Euripides, Ἡρακ. Μαινόμ. 931.

Μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χειρὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν,
Εἰς χέρνιβ' ὡς βάψειεν Ἀλκμήνης τόκος.

In other respects, this water was used for purifying ceremonies of two kinds. The first consisted merely in washing the hands, and was called χέρνιψ, from χεὶρ, *hand*, and νίπτω, *I wash*. The other extended to the whole body, and was called περιῤῥάνσις. This practice remains in Greece at the present time almost without change from the ancient forms, except in the manner of consecrating the water.

18. ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου] *The temple of Bacchus.* Tragedies were performed in the temple, and the rewards of crowns were proclaimed there. That decreed to Demosthenes was to be proclaimed there according to custom.

62 8. σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ] *The privilege of being supported in the Prytaneum.* This privilege was granted to those who had shown great zeal in the cause of the republic; and it

was one of the most honorable rewards which a citizen could 62
obtain.

9. *τὰ τοιαῦτα*] It is my own judgment that I have followed, in correcting thus, instead of leaving *καλά*.

10. *κατεπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα,*] *All this, from being indiscriminately granted, has fallen into discredit.* This expression is borrowed from fruits or vegetables, which by being continually watered, at last lose their savour and retain but a watery taste; or from clothes, which are injured by being injudiciously washed.

18. *Παναθήναια*] *The Panathenæa* were festivals celebrated at Athens in honor of Minerva, with a great deal of pomp, like the Bacchanalian festivals and those of Eleusis in honor of Bacchus and Ceres. These were the three greatest festivals of the Athenians.

19. *παγκράτιον*] Critics are not all of the same opinion with regard to the game called *Pancratium.* Some think it is thus called because the antagonists contended with their whole strength, *παντὶ κράτει.* Plutarch appears to decide the question by saying that it was a mixed sort of contest, consisting both of *boxing and wrestling: ὅτι γὰρ μέμικται τὸ παγκράτιον ἐκ τῆς πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης, δῆλον.* This assertion, as well as the passage of Æschines, *ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, or some other of our severest contests,* are against those who think that Pancratium was the same as Pentathlum, including the five modes of contending known by the ancients; *ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.*

27. *ἀγωνοθέτας*] Taken figuratively for *the judges.* The *agonothetæ* presided at the solemn games of Greece, or at the private games of each city. They were obliged to swear that they would religiously observe all the laws prescribed in every kind of contest, and that they would do nothing either directly or indirectly against the order and the police established at these games. The agonothetæ at Athens, as a part of their duty, had to superintend the proclamation of the crowns granted as rewards to the citizens, as we see in the decrees quoted by Demosthenes.

63 7. *φυλῆς*] *Phylè*, a fort in Attica, about a hundred stadia distant from Athens. During the domination of the thirty tyrants, a large number of citizens, enemies to a tyranical government and friends to democracy, left Athens, and went first to Phyle and afterwards to the Piræus, under the command of Thrasybulus and Archinus, whence they finally re-entered the city in triumph.

8. *Ἀριστείδης*] As it was frequently necessary to fit out fleets and to raise troops, Aristides was chosen to determine what sum should be assessed upon each Grecian city. It is a remarkable proof of the disinterestedness of this great man, that after having filled an office of such importance, he left at his death hardly enough to defray the expense of his funeral. The people gratefully took charge of the education and establishment of his daughters. He died about four years after the exile of Themistocles.

20. *δωρεὰς*] This correction appears to me preferable to the common reading, *δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον, ἄξιόν ἐςι μνησθῆναι.*

23. *πόνον*] Better than *χρόνον*. Reiske corrects the text thus: *οἳ πολλοὺς πολὺν ὑπομείναντες χρόνον καὶ μ. κ.* and Taylor *οἳ πολλοὺς ὑπομ. καὶ μ. κ.*

24. *Στρυμόνι*] It was under the command of Cimon, one of their great generals, that the Athenians fought and defeated the Persians near Strymon in Thrace. The Persians had seized several towns in this country, whence they greatly molested the Greeks. Cimon followed up the advantages of his victory, and drove them thence. Æschines mentions the Medes instead of the Persians, but we have already shown in a former note, how one of these names was often taken for the other.

27. *ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν,*] *In the gallery of the Hermæ.* A *Hermes* was a statue of Mercury made of a square stone, upon which an inscription was written.

28. *Ἑρμῶν, ἐφῆκε δὲ*] I have thought proper to place a comma after *Ἑρμῶν*, and to insert *δὲ*, as giving much greater strength and energy to the passage; *the people have granted them great honors, and yet have not permitted them to inscribe, &c.* Other editions commonly have *ἐφ᾽ ᾗτε μὴ*, agreeing with the word *στοᾷ*· and others *ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε.*

3. *ἐπ' Ἠιόνι,*] *Ἠιών* was a town of Thrace, afterwards called 64
Ἀμφίπολις.

4. *Λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα*] *A fierce and raging famine.* The word *αἴθων* is sometimes employed by Homer as an epithet for a lion, to express its ferocity and violence; and it is here borrowed from the violent and furious temper of a famished person.

12. *Μενεσθεὺς*] Homer speaks thus of Menestheus in the Iliad, B. 553:

Τῷ δ' οὔπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ,
Κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

13. *ἀμπεδίον,*] For *ἀνὰ πεδίον.* It is also written *εἰς πεδίον.*

15. *Κοσμήτωρα*] Some write *Κοσμητῆρα.*

20. *στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην·*] The *Pœcile;* a portico thus called from the different paintings it contained, representing the battle of Marathon.

30. *τῷ Μητρῴῳ*] The temple of Cybele, the mother of the Gods, built near the place where the Senate of the Five Hundred met. The statue was the work of Phidias.

2. *Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης,*] *Κοίλη* is one of the boroughs of Attica. 65
Its tribe is not exactly known, but it is supposed to be the Hippothoonian.

7. *θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ*] *The crown of olive leaves* was thus called.

12. *προσέβαλλον*] The imperfect is better than the aorist, since *the Lacedæmonians and the thirty tyrants attacked Phyle several times,* and not once only.

13. *οὐχ ὅσοι, κ. τ. λ.*] *And not those who fled from their post at Chæronea, at the approach of the enemy.* Æschines omits no opportunity of reproaching Demosthenes for his cowardice at Chæronea.

27. *Φιλάμμωνα*] *Philammon* was an Athenian *athletes,* contemporary with our orators, who was always victorious over his antagonists.

28. *Γλαῦκον*] *Glaucus,* a celebrated athletes from Caristus in Eubœa, who, according to common report, was descended from the sea god, Glaucus. The truth is, however, that this descendant of a god was the son of a mere laborer, named

65 Demylus. His ploughshare having one day become loose, Glaucus who was still young, mended it, using no hammer but his fist. Demylus seeing how well his son could strike, thought best to produce him at the Olympic games. At first Glaucus, little accustomed to such exercises, received several blows which greatly injured him; but just when it was expected that he would yield and leave the field, his father cried out to him; *What has become of that hand which hammered our plough so well?* The young man, animated by these words, struck his antagonist so severe a blow, that it decided at once the contest. He conquered on several other occasions at the solemn games of Greece; twice in the Pythian games, and eight times in the Nemæan and Isthmian. His son caused a statue to be erected to him, made by Glaucias of Ægina. Glaucus was represented in the attitude of an athletes, because it was as such that he had distinguished himself, and had gained the victory over all his contemporaries. After his death, the Carystians buried him in an island which is still called the island of Glaucus.

66 4. *Παταικίωνος*] *Patæcion* was probably an Athenian minister of no great merit. According to Harpocration and Suidas, he passed for a robber and a thief. The latter adds that he lived upon calumny, and was in the habit of leading rich young men into vicious indulgences.

12. *παλαίχθων*] *Child of the earth.* The Athenians, like several other nations of antiquity, thought they had first arisen from the earth, probably like mushrooms, or like those insects which appear after rain. It is undoubtedly on account of this idea with regard to their origin, that they give themselves in their writings the names of *παλαίχθονες, αὐτόχθονες, γηγενεῖς*, all having the same signification.

17. *Ἔναυλον*] A metaphorical expression, borrowed from the effect of the flute. *The sound still vibrated on the ear;* that is to say, *it was not yet effaced from the memory, and still remained there;* freely translated, *it was yet the general opinion.*

20. *Καὶ γάρ τι*] Preferable to *καὶ γάρ τοι.*

24. *εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφήν*] Better than *εἴ τις εἰσῄει γραφή.*

7. ὥςπερ ἐπῳδὴν] A metaphor taken from the epodes in lyric 67
poems, which answers to this; *as if they hear a song.*

20. Ἀριστοφῶν] *Aristophon*, an Athenian general mentioned in the speech of Demosthenes (p. 111. l. 27.), and who appears to have boasted that he had been oftener accused than any other man, without ever having been convicted.

22. ὁ Κέφαλος] *Cephalus*, an Athenian minister who was never accused, and who must therefore have been entirely irreproachable. For in the midst of a republic like that of Athens, where each citizen had the right of accusing any one, and whenever he pleased, and where envy and malignity could find weak places in the most exemplary lives, it was a very difficult thing never to have to sustain a trial.

28. διαπολιτευόμενοι,] Wolfius conjectures ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι. But there is a difference between the two words. The first is employed to signify those who hold different political opinions in the same country; the second, those who are of different countries.

1. γράψαντά γε στεφανοῦν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους] The sense of 68
this is: *Thrasybulus, who proposed to crown in an illegal manner one of those who had returned with him from Phyle.* The text is commonly thus: γράψαντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, στεφανῶν ἕνα, *having proposed something illegal, which was to crown, &c.* But this could not be illegal, since we see a little above that this same Archinus who accuses Thrasybulus, had proposed and carried a decree, according to which all those who had returned from Phyle were to be crowned with a crown of olive leaves. Reiske corrects this passage by writing τινα instead of τι· others place the word στεφανῶν between brackets, as if there was some suspicion of its having been inserted by transcribers, and then the sense is; *that Thrasybulus was accused of violating the laws, because one of those who had returned with him proposed an illegal decree.* This does not appear to me at all probable, for it is neither consistent with good sense, nor with what is written below. The correction of Reiske also does not appear very elegant; nor do I like the τινα, and the ἕνα κ. τ. λ. explanatory of it. The common text being also inconsistent

68 with history, I could not avoid making a correction of my own, which, I dare flatter myself, is at least as good as that of my predecessors.

5. ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν,] *As Thrasybulus had led them back from Phyle to their country.* All the glory of so memorable an event belongs to him. For when the thirty tyrants, established by the Lacedæmonians, held Athens in slavery, abusing their sovereign power by pillaging, exiling, and putting to death many citizens who had escaped the fury of war, Thrasybulus was not only the first, but the only one to declare war against them. He retreated to Phyle, followed only by about thirty of his friends. This was the beginning of the deliverance of Athens; these were the restorers of public liberty. The contempt of the thirty tyrants for Thrasybulus with so small a band, caused his triumph and their ruin. While they slumbered in a dangerous security, he had time to increase his strength. He then entered the Piræus and fortified Munychia. The thirty tyrants twice attacked this post, and were twice repulsed with disgrace. Thrasybulus used his victory with as much prudence as magnanimity, for he forbade his soldiers to attack them in their retreat, holding to the principle that the citizens should spare the blood of their fellow citizens. In a second fight, Critias, the chief of the thirty, fell, while opposing Thrasybulus with great valor. After the defeat of this general, Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, came to the assistance of those who were in Athens. He effected a treaty of peace between Thrasybulus and the besieged. The conditions were, that with the exception of the thirty tyrants, and the ten whom they had appointed Prætors, and who had been the ministers and accomplices of their cruelties, no one should be exiled, no confiscation of property should take place, and that the government should be restored to the people. Cornelius Nepos said of this great man: *Many have desired, few have obtained the happiness of delivering their country from a single tyrant; Thrasybulus alone delivered his from thirty.*

9. ἐξαιτοῦνται] *Solicit, ask the favor.* This word is also 68
employed in this sense in Euripides, Androm. 53.

Ἤτησε Φοῖβον, πατρὸς οὗ τίνειν δίκην,
Εἴ πως τὰ πρόσθεν σφάλματ' ἐξαιτούμενος,
Θεὸν παράσχοιτ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐμενῆ.

12. ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει,] Some critics might perhaps be tempted to write instead of πόλει, the word πολιτείᾳ, on account of the preceding δημοκρατίᾳ. But the word πολιτείαν, which comes after, being too near, I prefer to leave the text as it is, understanding δημοκρατουμένῃ.

15. Τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται] *How it is assigned, permitted, prescribed to a just and honest defender to intercede.* The words ἀποδέδεικται and ἀπολέλειπται are so similar when written, that there might be some doubts with regard to their genuineness, but the sense of the former appears to me so good as not to require any change. In my text I have preferred the transposition of the following words, which are commonly thus, ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ συνηγόρῳ καὶ σώφρονι; the sense in this case does not appear to me clear enough.

18. Ἔγχεῖται, κ. τ. λ.] *The first water flows for the accuser.* He alludes to the clepsydra, used by the ancient to measure the time each orator was to speak. (See Notes, p. 136. l. 12.)

22. τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ, κ. τ. λ.] *If by the first vote the violation of the law is not declared to be nothing in this case,* or *if the criminal is not acquitted.* It must be remembered that in criminal cases the judges pronounced twice. First they decided with regard to the fact; next they determined the punishment. By the first sentence they only declared whether they condemned or acquitted the defendant. If the plurality of votes was for the condemnation, the defendant, if the crime was not a capital one, was obliged to declare himself what punishment he deserved. After that followed a second sentence from the magistrates, proportioning the punishment to the crime.

30. διενεγκεῖν,] This has the signification of ἐνεγκεῖν, διδόναι ψῆφον, *to carry, give a vote.* The addition of the preposition διὰ here makes the word express moreover, *to carry a vote, discerning on which side you ought to give it.*

69 11. *σανίδιον*] *tablet*, upon which the accusation was written.

13. *καὶ τί δεῖ σε, κ. τ. λ.*] *Why recur to Demosthenes?* Æschines would have much preferred that Demosthenes should not answer him, but Ctesiphon; as he might much more easily have overcome him than the former, whom he had good reason to fear, as the result showed.

15. *κακοῦργον*] I was much inclined to prefer the reading *πανοῦργον*, which appears to me preferable here; I have left it on account of the same word, l. 29, for which there is no various reading.

24. *προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν,*] I have chosen to transpose the *μὴ* on account of the mistake which the reader would make at first sight, according to the common text, *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ π. ὑ. ἀ. and if he does not feign that he understands you;* whereas the true meaning is, *and if he feigns that he does not understand you.*

70 1. *Εἰ καλέσω*] *Am I to call Demosthenes?* I prefer it as more energetic than *εἰ καλέσοι*, which is narrative.

2. *καλῶν γὰρ*] These two words are added, and give not only more strength, but more connexion to the speech.

7. *κἀγὼ κατηγόρηκα, κ. τ. λ.*] This correction of my own consists, with regard to the most common text, in a transposition of some words, in a change of the pointing, and the parenthesis, which renders the sense clear and easy. These are the various readings for this part of the text. 1. *ὅνπερ κἀγὼ ὧδέ πως κατηγόρηκα, ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς.* 2. *ὅνπερ κἀγὼ κατηγόρηκα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; ἵ. κ. ὑπ. ὑμᾶς.* 3. *ὅνπ. κἀ. κατ. Καὶ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; ὧδε.*

12. *ἀπέδειξα*] Preferable to *ἐπέδειξα*, since the ancient editions have it thus, and it is also similar to the modern Greek expression *ἀπέδειξα τοὺς νόμους.*

71 1. *τρίτον δὲ, κ. τ. λ.*] *In the third place, (the most important of all that I say) to make his apology in answer to my charge of his not being worthy of the recompense.* My whole correction consists in the transposition of *τὸ* and the insertion of *ὤν*. These are the different readings. 1. *τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς ἀδὲ ἄξιός ἐςι τῆς δωρεᾶς.* 2. *τρίτον δὲ (τὸ μέγιςον λέγω) ὡς ἄξιός ἐςι τῆς δωρεᾶς.* 3. *ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιός ἐστι.*

6. *πάλαισμα*] A lawyer's trick. *Παλαίσματα τὰ ἀγωνίσματα,* 71
οἷς βούλεταί τις καταπαλαῖσαι τὸν ἀντίδικον. What the Germans call *fechterstreich.*

14. *ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν,*] I have thought best to place these words after *μάχεσθε,* although others have them after *ὑμεῖς·* the sense thus becomes more clear and natural.

15. *περιΐσασθαι,*] As if he had said, *ἴσασθαι περὶ λόγους ὁ πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀποβλέποντας, to begin speeches which have nothing to do with the violation of the laws.*

21. *βαλαντιοτόμον*] *A pick-pocket, a cut-purse,* alluding to the charge of Æschines against Demosthenes, that he was guilty of peculation.

25. *μεταβαλλόμενος,*] The same as *μεταβάλλων τὸν τρόπον, in changing his manner,* that is, *from tears passing to insults.*

27. *διηριθμημένους*] This word commonly signifies *enumerated,* but here, *separated, distinguished.*

2. *δημοκρατία*] Some add the article *ἡ.* I prefer the passage 72
without it.

4. *ἐκ παιδείας*] *of their education;* that is to say, *having pronounced the best word their education had taught them;* as if he said, *ὡς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους ἄνδρας χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.* This word was the *μὴ μνησικακεῖν, forgetfulness of the past,* an expression used in the decrees of the Athenians to put an end to their civil wars. This decree is called by Plutarch, *τὸ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ψήφισμα, the decree of amnesty,* whence the word has passed into the modern languages.

5. *ἑλκοποιεῖς,*] literally, *you produce ulcers,* or better, *you tear open our wounds.* A metaphorical expression for *you exasperate the minds.*

6. *αὐθημερὸν*] The adverb is more commonly used, and is preferable to the adjective *αὐθημέρων* or *αὐθημερινῶν.*

15. *περιγράψετέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας;*] It is better with the interrogation. It is also written *περιεγράψατε* and *περιγράψατε.* Reiske writes the future, and adds *εἰ.*

18. *ἢ πρὸς*] Others omit this *ἤ.* I do not agree with them, but think it very good and even elegant. The most symmetrical is not always the most beautiful. There are

72 certain apparent irregularities made by skilful artists, which are far more pleasing than the work of the rule and compass.

22. ἐξορμεῖς] *Thou art ready to start, thou art like a vessel just weighing anchor;* ἐχχωρεῖν μελετᾷς καὶ ἀποφεύγειν.

27. ἀτίμητος;] This name was applied to a cause in which the laws did not define the punishment or penalty, the decision being left to the judges. It is in contradistinction to τιμητὸς, where the laws affixed the penalty, without its being left to the discretion of the judges. Thus, then, ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος; means *and the sentence, can it be arbitrarily given by the judges?* or rather, *is not the penalty determined by the laws?*

73 6. ἐκείρατο,] *The city shaved itself.* A metaphor taken from funeral ceremonies; for after the loss of a dear friend, it was customary for persons, as a sign of their grief, to cut off their hair and lay it upon the body of him whom they mourned. It was a very old custom, and is mentioned by several authors of antiquity. Homer speaks of it several times, in describing the affliction of Achilles at the death of Patroclus. Traces of it are also found in the Electra of Sophocles. Bion, relating the death of Adonis, says:

Ἀμφὶ δὲ μὶν κλαίοντες ἀναστενάχουσιν Ἔρωτες
Κειράμενοι χαίτας ἐπ' Ἀδώνιδι.

If we were to seek for the probable origin of such a custom, it might perhaps be found in those effects which excessive grief first produces. For in great affliction it is very natural that a person should tear his hair. Other nations, with the same feelings and for the same reason, suffered their hair and beard to grow, in such cases. So true it is that mere fancy is often the rule in such customs, attaching to conventional signs whatever idea it pleases.

9. κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν.] *A wretch, who seeks to appear virtuous, but hates virtue in his heart.* Κάθαρμα properly means an *expiatory victim.* This name was given to a few abject and useless creatures who were maintained at Athens, so that, in case of any public calamity, as the plague or any thing of the kind, they might be put to death in expiation of the offence which was thought to be the cause of so severe a

punishment. *Ζηλοτυποῦν* is for *μισοῦν*. For the word *ζηλοῦν* is 73
taken in a good sense, and signifies *to emulate*, whence comes the word *ζῆλος*· but *ζηλοτυπεῖν* expresses the *invidious hatred* which one person bears to another, and is composed of *ζῆλος*, *zeal*, and *τύπος*, *impression*, who have the impression alone of zeal, but not the reality.

14. *μιαρὰν*] Some read *μικρὰν*, having in mind this passage of Aristotle: *οὐδεμία μὲν κεφαλὴ μικρὰ, ἀγαθή· οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δ' ἀγαθὴ, ἡ μεγάλη.*

21. *πρόςοδον*] It appears to me that the play upon words in this passage would be complete, if we could find authority to substitute *κεφάλαιον*, *capital*, for the word *πρόςοδον*, *revenue*. It seems to me also more logical, because the head may be like the capital which gives the revenue, but it is not so natural to say that the head is the revenue itself.

2. *ἐμπληξίαν*] *Terror with amazement*, like a man who is 74
stupefied, being struck by a thunderbolt.

10. *ὠφέληται, κ. τ. λ.*] Reiske writes thus: *ὠφέληται πολλὰ, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται.* I have preferred the reading found in editions prior to his, and which appears to me incomparably better, the word *πολλὰ* being governed by the preposition *κατὰ* of the verb; as if it was: *βέβλαπται δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.*

19. *καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, κ. τ. λ.*] *And he blames excessively even my conversation in the Gymnasia, with those younger than myself.* Those who were fond of letters, loved to go to the Gymnasia, or places where the young men exercised in wrestling or boxing, to talk with them and to instruct them by useful and agreeable conversation. Demosthenes will not attack his antagonist for this taste of his, perhaps somewhat frivolous for an Athenian minister. He will bring forward, however, most of these charges which Æschines had foreseen with sagacity, and refuted with great address; but it will be with a triumphant power which Æschines certainly did not expect.

23. *ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, κ. τ. λ.*] *Making a parade of his zeal with Alexander, knowing that he hated Demosthenes.* It is not however by the charge that he is paying court to Alexander,

74 that Demosthenes in the very beginning of his speech is to throw suspicion upon the accusation of Æschines, but by reproaching him for attacking him for things long since past, though he might have accused him while the facts were still fresh in every one's memory.

25. *μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν,*] *He will ask me.* Æschines here undertakes to anticipate and refute the probable charge of Demosthenes, that he only meddled with public business rarely and at intervals, (p. 187.) Our orator exculpates himself by two reasons. The first is, his frugality; for he knows how to be content with little, very different in this respect from his antagonist, whose eager rapacity alternately binds and releases his tongue. The second, that he is only using the liberty which a popular government gives to every citizen, to appear and to withdraw, to speak or be silent, as he pleases.

75 9. *ὁπόταν — προστάττωσιν·*] *When those who hire you, command you.* It was proverbially said of such a man, *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώττῃ βέβηκε, an ox has mounted upon his tongue;* in allusion to an Athenian coin, stamped with the figure of an ox. This proverb is also sometimes used to signify *a man silent from principle,* in allusion to the heavy jaw of this large and clumsy animal; and it is in this sense that Pythagoras was said to place an ox on the tongue of his disciples, to signify the long silence which he imposed upon them. It is said that Demosthenes was sometimes bribed to be silent; witness *ἡ συνάγχη,* that very convenient *stuffed throat* of his, with which he was charged under the name of *ἀργυράγχη, stuffed purse.*

14. *Φιλίππου ζῶντος,*] *During the life of Philip,* Æschines brought forward his accusation, but the trial did not take place till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. (See the prolegomena, p. *έ.*)

30. *μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι*] *When you bring forward the circumstance that I have never accused you.* Æschines had, undoubtedly, more than once attacked Demesthenes from the tribune, in his speeches, but he had never prosecuted him before a court of law.

14. *Πόλλιν*] Chabrias, an Athenian general, conquered *Pollis* 76
near Naxos in a naval engagement.

22. *Ἀναξίνου*] The reason why Æschines disapproves of the conduct of Demosthenes towards Anaxinus, is found in the answer of Demosthenes, (p. 135, l. 3.) With regard to Anaxinus, this is the only place in which his name is found. It is unknown what was his crime. He was undoubtedly guilty; but it was not for Demosthenes, whose guest he was, to have him condemned, unless the public safety very urgently required his death.

26. *τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας, καίτοι*] *And you have caused his death, although, &c.* If my text is here compared with that of other editions, it will be seen that I have transposed the words commonly placed after *ποιούμενος*, and instead of *καὶ*, I have written *καίτοι*· my pointing is also a little different from that of the other editions, which do not all agree. I flatter myself that the text, as I have it, is more clear, neat, and flowing, and that it pleases the ear more, while at the same time it gives better sense.

31. *ξενοκτόνος*] *Assassin of a guest.* Æschines could not accuse Demosthenes of a more atrocious crime. For among the Greeks there were no rights more sacred and inviolable than those of hospitality. They gave to a stranger the same claim to protection as relationship, friendship, and neighbourhood gave to a fellow citizen.

2. *τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας*] *The salt of the city*, that is, *the tables of Athens.* As the common use of salt and the table gives origin to friendship, familiarity, and intimacy, they have become emblematic of these feelings. Aristotle says that, *according to the proverb, we cannot mutually know each other fully,* 77
without having eaten together a certain quantity of salt, *κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους, πρὶν τοὺς λεγομένους ἅλας συναλῶσαι.* The same author says also in another passage, *εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμνος τῶν ἁλῶν· the bushel of salt has become a proverb.* We may remember also the famous maxim, *ἅλας καὶ τράπεζαν μὴ παραβαίνειν, not to violate the salt and the table.*

77 5. ἀνυπάρκτοις] I have corrected thus, instead of the common ἀγενήτοις, for which there are also the following various readings: ἀγνώστοις, ἀγνοήτοις, ἀνοήτοις, ἀνονήτοις, ἀγεννήτοις.

7. ἐπερωτᾷν με — μέλλει] *He will ask me.* We cannot but admire the skill with which Æschines anticipates the arguments of his antagonist, brought forward, on p. 168, l. 16. We should be almost tempted to imagine that he had already read the speech, or that some one who had heard Demosthenes read it, had given him an exact account of it; otherwise we must attribute to Æschines an almost supernatural sagacity. (See Proleg. p. ιέ.)

10. ἔννατα] Literally, *the ninths*, ceremonies practised for the soul of the dead, on the ninth day after he expired, just as the name τρίτα, was given to the ceremonies of the third day. These are still practised in Greece under a different form, and the former are called ἐννεάμερα and the latter τρίμερα. This should be a sufficient answer to those who translate the word ἔννατα, by *funeral.* It was undoubtedly a ceremony subsequent to the funeral, but not the funeral itself.

14. ἀποδοῖτο] And not the common ἀπόδοιτο.

29. ὡς ἐγὼ, κ. τ. λ.] I have not been willing to adopt the correction of ὧν instead of ὡς, nor that of ἀγανακτῶν instead of ἀγανακτῶ. The sense appears to me clear enough as the words are. *And by the Olympian Gods (if, however, the report I have heard is true), it is about that which I am going to mention that I am most indignant.*

78 2. κηλεῖσθαι] In its proper sense this word is employed to express the charm and the pleasure which we feel, upon hearing fine music, particularly the sound of the flute or of a beautiful voice.

79 3. ἐπειςιόντων,] Preferable to the common reading ἐπειςαγόντων.

4. Θερσίτην] Homer speaks of him in the second book of the Iliad. He represents him as a monster of deformity and of cowardice, whose insolent tongue did not spare the chiefs of the army. Æschines here makes Demosthenes a Thersites; but he attacks rather his character than his person.

21. τὰς ἐγκυκλίους χορούς] The name of *circular or Bacchic choirs* was given to the bands of musicians who sung the

dithyrambus, and danced to the sound of these hymns in hon- 79
or of Bacchus; sometimes joining hands, sometimes with their hands free. From the service of the altars the choirs were introduced into tragedy, which itself was originally only a religious ceremony, and formed a part of public worship. Their origin, therefore, was very exalted, and they anciently held a high station upon the stage, of which they were considered as the principal ornament. As it was inevitable that disputes should arise among the large number of persons who composed these choirs, they had their own proper judges, who investigated their quarrels and settled them. And it is of these judges that Æschines here speaks.

15. *καὶ πλείους*] Reiske, and the editors who have followed 80
him, write *οἳ πλείους*. It appears to me very correct as it is, for we ought not to oblige men of genius always to speak by rule and compass. It is very well for a man of a phlegmatic disposition to follow the natural order of things, and to say: *and even some were of the number of the thirty tyrants, who put to death fifteen hundred citizens without a trial.* Instead of *who*, to put *and*, which refers to the word *some*, at first appears an irregularity, since it was the whole thirty, and not a few of them who caused these citizens to be put to death; but we must recollect that the will and the vote of a few was equally the cause of their death, and therefore the orator in his vehemence and indignation can very well refer to a few, what was done by the whole band of the thirty tyrants of which they were members.

1. *τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς τάφρους,*] *Having palisaded the walls and* 81
the ditches. It is more commonly written *οὐδὲ τὰς τάφρους*, and Reiske places the passage between brackets, as suspicious, and others after him omit it entirely.

2. *ἀνελόντα*] *Having destroyed the public tombs.* This word likewise signifies *raised;* but I have preferred the former meaning, because Demosthenes had not been appointed to raise or rebuild the tombs, but to repair the walls; and these repairs, which were hastily made, might perhaps require the demolishing of some tombs which were in the way, and the materials of which might be employed.

81 21. *ἐπιστολὴν,*] History does not tell us on what occasion the king of Persia wrote to the Athenians the letter here mentioned by the orator.

82 5. *τὴν ἄκραν*] The citadel *Cadmeia*, which was probably in the hands of the Macedonians.

8. *ἡ πρᾶξις ἃ γεγένηται;*] *We could not improve the opportunity.* I know of no traces in history of the two facts here mentioned by Æschines.

15. *ἐγκωμιάζοι,*] I have thus corrected, instead of leaving the common *ἐγκωμιάσει.*

28. *Ἀλεξάνδρου*] *Alexander*, king of the Molossians (a people of Epirus, whose capital, Dodona, was famous for its temple and the oracle of Jupiter), had carried war into Italy and perished there. His armies were routed, and he was obliged to fly. As he was crossing a river on horseback, he received a mortal blow. His death did not satisfy the fury of his enemies; they offered a thousand insults to his body, and after having cut it to pieces, it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to allow the remains of this unfortunate king to be carried back to his country, to his wife Cleopatra. It was on this mournful occasion that Ctesiphon was sent to present to the afflicted queen the compliments of condolence. Although a man may have the talent of composing and speaking proper compliments on such occasions without being able to plead a cause, we cannot but believe that the Athenians, so famous for their skill and sense of propriety in speaking, chose on such occasions citizens who possessed these qualities in an eminent degree.

83 3. *Χαβρίαν, κ. τ. λ.*] *Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus*, three celebrated Athenian generals, known principally by the victories here mentioned by Æschines.

8. *μόραν*] *A body.* Xenophon, in his Lacedæmonian Republic, thus defines it: *Ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἕνα, λοχαγοὺς τέτταρας, πεντηκοστῆρας ὀκτὼ, ἐνωμοτάρχας ἑκκαίδεκα.* Consequently it must have been a body of four hundred men.

11. *ἀντερῶ*] Commonly written *ἐάν τις ἐρωτᾷ, διὰ τί οὐ δώσετε;* Reiske omits the interrogation and adds the word *φήσετε.*

19. *ἀποκτείνῃ τινα,*] I have transposed the *τινα*, to give more 83
clearness. In other editions it is placed after *ἐάν*. There is also this reading: *εἴ τῳ* or *ἐάν τῳ ἐμπεσόντα*. As to the fact, we find the following passage in Pausanias, lib. VI. 11, 2. *Δράκων Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, εἴ γε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον.* Solon, who annulled the laws of Draco, as too severe, did not alter those with regard to murder, but left them in full force. The causes of inanimate murderers were judged by the tribunal called *τὸ ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ, the tribunal of the Prytaneum.* Pausanias places the origin of that jurisdiction as far back as king Erectheus. Though frivolous and puerile in appearance, their object was very serious and very wise. It was to destroy in the hearts of men all thoughts of murder, by making it an unpardonable crime.

20. *αὐτὸν διαχρήσηται,*] *If any one kills himself, &c.* The contempt which the ancients had for those who committed suicide, may be seen also in this passage of Aristotle. Nicom. lib. III. 7. *Τὸ δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φεύγοντα πενίαν ἢ ἔρωτα ἤ τι λυπηρὸν οὐκ ἀνδρείου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δειλοῦ· μαλακία γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τὰ ἐπίπονα.*

30. *τί ἀποκρινεῖσθε;*] It is also written *τί κρινεῖτε;*

30. *αἱ παλαῖστραι,*] *Palæstræ*, places where the young men practised wrestling, boxing, and other exercises, which formed a part of their education; just as in our own times young men are taught to dance, to ride, to fence, that the powers of the body may be developed after those of the mind.

31. *οὐδ' ἡ μουσικὴ μόνον*] This name was given to all the sciences; undoubtedly because the first sages and philosophers were poets who sung their own verses, teaching men by their songs, and endeavoring, while amusing their minds and pleasing their ears, to instruct them in the civil and moral virtues, and the sciences necessary to their happiness.

27. *τὸν λόγον*] It is also written *καὶ τῶν λόγων ὥςπερ τὰς βε-* 84
βαιώσεις τῶν κηρυγμάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι εἰς β. Reiske has it thus: *καὶ τῶν λόγων τὰς βεβαιώσεις (ὡς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων ὁ γ. κ. π.)*

85 12. ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακὼς] *As if he had fallen into childhood.* It is what we now call ἐξαναμωραμένος, from ἐξ, ἀνὰ, μωρὸς, that is, *a second time silly*, or rather, *childish*, since μωρὸ παιδὶ, is used to signify *a child in the cradle*, and the word παιδὶ is frequently understood.

17. ἐράνων, κ. τ. λ.] *As if you were returning from some luncheon, after having divided the dishes handed around*, or *the remains of the feast.* I presume that he here alludes to the large sums derived from the contributions of the allies of the republic; sums originally destined for expeditions for the welfare of Greece, but which were by abuse used for distributions to the people on the days of assembly, and of public shows.

23. Ἕτερος δ' ἰδιώτης] This *other individual* was named Leocrates. He was one of those timid citizens, who could not resist the fear which prevailed in Athens after the defeat at Chæronea, and sought safety in flight. The orator Lycurgus accused him before the courts, of having betrayed his country, and violated the decree passed a few days after the battle of Chæronea, which forbade any citizen to leave Athens. Lycurgus has described the character of Leocrates, and has related his desertion and flight in the only speech which remains to us from him.

26. εἰ δὲ, κ. τ. λ.] *Had there been one more ball, he would have suffered exile or death.* It was the common practise of the Athenians to acquit, when the votes were divided. They never failed on such occasions to favor the accused and not the accuser. A very wise practice, and in accordance with all the laws of justice and humanity.

28. ὁ πάντων] Preferable to the common reading, ἁπάντων.

86 5. τὰ Πύθια — συνέδριον —] *In a few days the Pythian games and the meeting of the Greeks will take place.* When Æschines pronounced this speech, the Amphictyonic council, or States General of Greece, were about to assemble at Delphi, to deliberate on the common interests of the whole nation, and to preside at the Pythian games, one of the four solemn games of Greece, celebrated every five years near Delphi, in honor of

Pythian Apollo, and of which they were the *ex officio* judges. 86
(See Notes, p. 119, l. 17.)

24. *Ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, κ. τ. λ.*] Here the peroration begins. It is beautiful, magnificent, and grand, and at the same time very touching and pathetic. Æschines bring before us Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, all the heroes who on the plains of Marathon and of Platæa, sacrificed their lives for the republic. He calls them forth from their tombs to witness the sentence presently to be pronounced. He calls upon the earth, the sun, upon virtue, that universal reason, that celestial light, which illumines every mind, and makes it distinguish good and evil. In a word he omits nothing to engage all nature in his contest, to raise heaven and earth, gods and men, against Demosthenes.

25. *Βυζάντιον — ἐξελέσθαι*] We see in the speech itself of Demosthenes how he saved Byzantium. This orator says nothing of the Acarnanians, a people of Epirus in Greece, whom he undoubtedly excited against the king of Macedonia. The determination of the Thebans to alliance with the Athenians, is the most striking and the most important part of his speech.

14. *Ἄρθμιον*] *Arthmius* was the son of Pythonax, and born 87
at Zelia, a town of Troad. He frequently passed through Athens, where he enjoyed the rights of hospitality. As an emissary of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, he scattered through Peloponnesus the gold of this prince. He came to Athens; but the Athenians, having discovered his practices, banished him from their city, and declared him and his posterity for ever infamous. Much is said of him in the third Philippic.

17. *παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον*] *It wanted nothing*, synonymous with *παρὰ μικρὸν, παρ' ὀλίγον, little was wanting.*

27. *Ἐγὼ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*] Demosthenes ridicules with great severity this passage of Eschines, (p. 132, l. 2.)

29. *βεβοήθηκα*] Reiske is in favor of *βεβόηκα.*

90 1. *Πρῶτον*] In every age both of the ancient and the modern world, this exordium has been regarded as a master-piece. Demosthenes begins by presenting to his hearers the most grand of all sights. He opens to them Olympus, and he engages all the gods and all the goddesses to favor his cause. But while he offers to their mind those objects most capable of exciting wonder and admiration, he does not neglect to bring forward that which may also affect their feelings. In the beginning of his oration, he leaves nothing untried to do away the evil impressions which the speech of Æschines might have produced, and to engage the judges to suspend their decision, until they have also heard what he has to say in his defence. Although this demand is a perfectly just one, he takes care to bring forward every thing which can enforce it. He therefore recalls with great skill to the mind of his hearers, the services he has rendered to the republic, services which were certainly a great presumption in his favor; the oath of the judges, who have solemnly sworn to hold an even balance between the two parties, and to hear both accuser and accused with perfect impartiality; and two great advantages which Æschines possesses as the plaintiff in this cause, and which ought to induce the judges to lean rather to his own side, if it was right for them to look with greater favor upon one than the other He finishes his exordium as he begins it, that is, by imploring the assistance of the gods. And this he does, that he may first give the judges a great opinion of his religion, being persuaded that there was no better way to obtain their confidence, than by showing above all things piety, the possession of which renders worthy of credit all the actions and all the words of men.

2. πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις,] *I pray all the gods and goddesses.* 90 Demosthenes appears to have had in view this famous line of Homer: (Iliad, Θ′ 5.)

Κέκλυτέ μευ πάντες τε θεοὶ, πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι.

These two celebrated passages have not escaped Lucian, who, as is his custom, applies them in a very witty and amusing manner. He supposes that Jupiter, having called an extraordinary meeting of the gods, for an affair which is of the last importance to them, is disconcerted at the sight of the prodigious crowd which is gathering on Olympus, and losing his presence of mind, tells Mercury he does not know whether he ought to begin by the line of Homer which we have just quoted. Mercury, who has some fondness for orators, advises him to take an exordium from the speeches of Demosthenes, altering it a little to adapt it to his subject, as the modern orators do. In another dialogue Lucian introduces Rhetoric, complaining that he has abandoned her for dialogues, and in the speech she makes on the subject, she uses the exordium of Demosthenes. It seems that the ingenious author wishes to give us to understand by this, that Rhetoric herself, when speaking in her own cause, could not do better than to repeat the opening of a speech which all ages have unanimously regarded as the most perfect model of eloquence. We must believe, however, that the object of Lucian was not only to eulogize Demosthenes, but also to censure the plagiaries of his time.

6. τοῦτο παραστῆσαι] The sense is as if the passage stood thus: *ἔπειτ᾽ εὔχομαι ἵν᾽ οἱ θεοὶ εἰς νοῦν ὑμῖν ἐμβάλωσι τὸ μὴ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ συμβουλεύσασθαι περὶ τοῦ τρόπου καθ᾽ ὃν ἀκουστέον ἐμοί, ὅπερ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ.*

11. Ὁμοίως, κ. τ. λ.] *To hear equally both parties.* Solon and almost all legislators have made it an express law. But it is a law which nature has indelibly engraved on every heart, and which every one intuitively assents to, the moment it is expressed. It is one of those first principles which carry their own evidence with them. Whoever judges after having heard but one party, even though his decision may be just, is yet guilty of a sort of injustice; and if he listens to one with more

90 favor than to the other, we may of course say that it is to one only that he gives a fair hearing. Phocylides, in his beautiful poem on the different duties of men, has not forgotten this important maxim:

Μή τι δίκην δικάσῃς, πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσῃς.

The Athenian judges regarded this great rule as the basis and the foundation of their jurisprudence. They engaged themselves by a solemn oath to observe it with the greatest strictness. And in the speech on the *Ill-managed Embassy*, Æschines says to the Athenians, with the express purpose of throwing odium on Demosthenes: *ὃς ἐτόλμησε παρακελεύσασθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁμωμοκότας τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσεσθαι, τὴν τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος φωνὴν μὴ ὑπομένειν.*

91 1. *ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν —*] *But to me*—we might add *κίνδυνός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων.* This rhetorical figure is called *ἀποσιώπησις.* He then says why he did not finish what he had begun to say; *but I will pronounce no words of ill omen in the beginning of my speech.* We must remember that the ancients had a superstitious fear of certain sinister expressions. To pronounce such words, they called *βλασφημεῖν.* This superstition was remarkably seen in the ceremonies of sacrifices, in which the herald took great care to warn the people to pronounce no unlucky word. This was also carefully attended to in other places besides the temples. Demosthenes in his oration *against Leptines*, when speaking of the ancient splendor of Athens says: *τότε μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, καὶ γῆς ἠνδόρει, καὶ χρημάτων· νῦν δὲ ἐνδεήσει, δεῖ γὰρ οὕτω λέγειν, καὶ μὴ βλασφημεῖν.*

2. *ἐκ περιουσίας*] *He accuses me gratuitously, being at liberty to do it or not.* Some have understood by this passage that Æschines, enriched by the money he had received from Philip and Alexander, does not fear to lose his cause, since he can very well afford to pay the fine. I prefer the other interpretation; that Æschines had it in his power to remain quiet, while Demosthenes must necessarily defend himself, and cannot avoid answering: in that case *ἐκ περιουσίας* becomes almost synonymous with *ἐκ περιττοῦ*, as if he added, *περιττὸν γὰρ ἐμοῦ μάτην καθάπτεσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν.*

3. ὃ φύσει] Reiske, instead of ὅ, which refers to ἕτερον, 91
writes ἃ, referring to l. 6. τούτων τοίνυν. I am so far from agreeing with him in this instance, that if the text stood as it is corrected by him, I should have felt inclined to alter it, and to write it as it stands originally. Τούτων τοίνυν refers to the two things preceding, p. 90, l. 19, Ἐν μέν, p. 91, l. 3, Ἕτερον δέ. That is, it refers to these grammatically; but for the sense, the orator has in view the latter only, as if he had forgotten what he had first said. This is one of those instances of inattention, which are always found in writers who think more of their subject than of the words which they employ, and which, in such cases, should be regarded as beauties rather than faults. The ear, to which I often appeal as a judge in my decisions upon the text of the orators, is very well satisfied with the text as it is, ὃ φύσει, but in reading the passage as corrected by Reiske, this ἃ arrests me, and seems like a rock which rises and disturbs the calm and peaceful flow of a river.

5. τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτὸς ἄχθεσθαι·] *To be indignant against those who praise themselves.* It is true in general, that one who praises himself runs a great risk of displeasing. Yet there are cases in which we can with propriety and advantage become our own panegyrists. Such are cases in which the praise is supported by truth, and founded upon merit universally acknowledged; when it is necessary; when it is used, not to add to the glory of him who praises himself, but to defend him from a certain danger, which he does not deserve to encounter. A person may then speak his own praise, provided he do it with dignity, and that he speak only of his heart and of his good deeds; for all men seem to have agreed that no one should ever permit himself to speak boastingly of his mind and his talents. Self-praise on such occasions, and with these precautions, rather conciliates, than displeases, and calling back the mind of the hearer from the confusion into which it had been thrown by strange events, gives him the invariable law which he is to follow. History furnishes several remarkable examples of this. I will mention only that of Pericles, who

91 seeing that the Athenians, exasperated by the evils of war and the plague, began to murmur against him, the apparent author of their calamities, for having counselled war, said to them in the assembly which he had called together purposely to appease them: *Καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἥσσων οἶμαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα· φιλόπολίς τε, καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων.* Thuc. L. ii. 60. Dionysius of Halicarnassus severely blames Pericles on this account; and perhaps he judges of the goodness of the speech from its success, since Pericles was deprived of the command and condemned to pay a fine. It is certain, however, that the speech produced an instantaneous effect; for Thucydides assures us that the whole assembly were convinced: *οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο·* but that the citizens returning to their houses and being reminded of all they had to suffer, could no longer bear the violence of their sufferings, and passed sentence against their great magistrate. We must grant then, according to the testimony of the historian, that the speech of Pericles was at first successful; and if this famous Athenian general fell from his power not long afterwards, it was the fault, not of his eloquence, but of circumstances.

11. *βαδίζω,*] *I walk.* This word is here employed figuratively; *if I walk over my actions as a public and private man,* that is, *if I enter into the details of my public and private life.*

21. *τῳ*] It has no accent because it is enclitic, and has the same signification as *τινι.*

22. *μάλιστα δὲ — ὅσῳ περ*] instead of *τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ.* W.

25. *ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι*] These two words are almost synonymous, yet we may take the first in the sense of *I think it just,* and the second as meaning *I beg of you.* By the first of these words he preserves dignity, by the other he seeks to gain pity.

26. *ὁμοίως ὑμῶν,*] It was enough, observes Taylor, to say: *ὁμοίως ἀκοῦσαί μου ἀπολογουμένου,* without *δικαίως,* which is probably a comment on *ὁμοίως.* The remark which Taylor makes, shows that he construed *ὁμοίως* with *ἀκοῦσαι·* but this is incorrect; it should be construed with *ὑμῶν, all of you,* without exception, strong or weak, young or old, &c.

2. *πρότερος*] One manuscript gives *πρότερον* instead of *πρό-* 92
τερος. This gratuitous correction was probably made by some grammarian, puzzled by an infinitive preceded by a nominative. But *πρότερος* should be retained, because it is understood of the same person to whom the word *ἰσχύει* relates. Thus, p. 162, l. 23, *ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός*.

3. *παρελθεῖν*,] *to pass beyond*, or *escape*; but it is here used for *νικῆσαι*, a metaphor in allusion to racers; and as the words *διώκων*, *accuser*, and *φεύγων*, *accused*, would be translated literally the *pursuer* and the *pursued*, it is a remarkably happy one.

5. *λέγοντος ὕστερον*] It is also written *ὑστέρου λέγοντος*, and Reiske even prefers it thus. I do not agree with him, and it is sufficient to observe the hiatus resulting from *τοῦ ὑστ*. The oldest editions also have the text as I have retained it.

6. *προσδέξηται*, — *ποιήσηται*] It is also written *προσδέξεται*, and *ποιήσεται*· but I am inclined to consider it better as left in my text, since it is more analogous to our modern dialect.

7. *διάγνωσιν*] According to Taylor, *διάγνωσιν* is the Attic for *διαγνώμην*, and his note is founded on the opinion of Thomas Magister. But it is not so. Demosthenes uses *διάγνωσις*, not because it is more in accordance with the Attic mode of expression, but because *διαγνώμη* would here be improper. *Διάγνωσις* means a *discussion*, and *διαγνώμη* what *results from a discussion*, that is, *the decree*, as we may see it in Thucyd. L. i. 87, *ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι*, and in L. iii. 42, *οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὖθις*.

13. *διατελῶ*] This verb, joined with a participle, indicates constancy, habit, and continuance.

17. *παραστῆσαι*] *to bring to your mind*, and *παρίστασθαι*, *to come to the mind*. (See p. 90, l. 6, and note.)

20. *προβουλεύματος*] This word means a *preparatory decree*, *preliminary decree of the Senate*. (See *προβουλεῦσαι*, p. 146, l. 21; and Notes, p. 113, l. 25.) The decree of Ctesiphon was approved by the Senate. The approbation of the people was still necessary for its execution; and this Æschines wished to prevent, by accusing Ctesiphon of having infringed the laws in his decree.

93 4. *ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω*] See p. 191, l. 2, 3.

6. *τούτῳ μὲν*] On the authority of some manuscript, Reiske adds *δὴ* after *μέν*.

11. *εὔηθες*] It is here used instead of the adverb *εὐήθως*.

15. *διέβαλες,*] Some manuscripts have *διέβαλλες*, and Reiske even prefers the imperfect to the aorist. For my own part, I like the aorist better, though the preceding verb is in the imperfect; which is no reason why *διέβαλες* should also be in the imperfect, since, if we should change the first verb into a participle, we might correctly say *ἃ καταψευδόμενος διέβαλες*.

16. *πομπείας*] We should translate it thus: *a torrent of abuse*. It is used instead of the word *ὕβρεως, λοιδορίας*· and this signification of the word *πομπεία*, which means *procession*, arises from the circumstance that in the processions they were accustomed to cast abuse on each other, *διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς κωμῳδεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν ἀλλήλους*. We now use the word *πομπιωμένος*, in the sense *defamed, dishonored*; and it comes from the same source.

16. *ἀνέδην*] from *ἀνιέναι*· like *συςάδην, βάδην*, from *συνιςάναι, βάναι*, and it means *licentiously, without restraint*. Taylor prefers *ἀναίδην*, which means *impudently*. Scholiast. *Ἐὰν μὲν διὰ τῆς διφθόγγου γράφηται, τῆς ἀναισχύντου λέγει, ἂν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ε, ὅπερ καὶ βέλτιον, τῆς πολλῆς, ἐκ τῆς ἀνέσεως, ἀθρόας τε καὶ σφοδρᾶς*.

18. *ἀκούειν,*] Reiske, upon some authority, puts this word after *βιλομένοις*. I know not what effect this may have upon others, but my ear is not pleased with this transposition.

21. *ἡ προαίρεσις*] *the end, intention*. In order better to understand the signification of this word for which it is quite difficult to find an equivalent in another language, see p. 120, l. 7. and p. 153, l. 26. This word is still much used among us, and particularly in this phrase: *ἤθελον νὰ ἰδῶ τὴν προαίρεσίν σου, it was only to see your good-will, your intention*.

22. *ἐπήρειαν, κ. τ. λ.*] This word comes from *ἐπηρεάζω*, and means *malignity, ill-will*; *ὕβρις, λοιδορία, προπηλακισμὸς*, are three synonymes, but there is still some difference between them. We might translate them by *injury, insult, outrage*; and their difference seems to me to consist in this; the word

ὕβρις, expresses rather the intention than the action; in the 93
word λοιδορία, the intention begins to show itself in abusive words; and in the word προπηλακισμὸς, the intention, the words, and the action are united to complete the insult. The last word has its etymology from πηλὸς, *dirt*, as if we should say: *insult, by casting dirt upon one.* Instead of ὁμῶ, Reiske prefers ἐμῶ.

26. ἀδ' ἐγγύς.] Sc. τῆς ἀξίας δίκης. Wolfius. (See p. 121, l. 13.)

26. Οὐ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.] *For it is not proper to forbid any one a free access to the people.* We must confess that this γὰρ, *for*, is not in place here; and having no connexion with what goes before, renders the passage rather obscure, and has led all critics to believe that the sentence must have been corrupted. Perhaps it stood ἐκ ἄρ', *no certainly.* I doubt, however, whether even the correction that I have proposed would be satisfactory; so that we must be content to leave it as it is, for fear of making it worse; explaining the word γὰρ by καὶ ὁμολογῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ. *and I confess that it is not proper, &c.*

1. ἐτραγῴδει] *he declaimed like a tragedian.* There is much 94
severity in the Greek word. It reminds the Athenians of the former occupation of Æschines, who began by being a player, or as Demosthenes says, by being a *country-player, a mere actor of third-rate parts.*

2. παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα] *in the fact, at the very time that I committed the crimes;* εὐθὺς ὅτε ἠδίκουν ἐγὼ ταῦτα. Wolfius.

3. εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια] *Things worthy of denunciation.* The action εἰσαγγελία, was entered against the citizen who was unfaithful in a public office, betrayed his country, or led the people away by vain promises. The accuser in this case, by the ancient law, enjoyed an unjust privilege; he could lose his cause with impunity and without suffering any injury from it, even when the accused had been acquitted. The disorder occasioned by such license at length caused this law to be abolished; a law which opened the door for calumny, and multiplied accusers to infinity. They were subject afterwards to a pecuniary fine, if in the verdict they had not a fifth part of the suffrages in their favor.

94 6. *Οὐ γὰρ — δύναται*] Gail proposes to understand *εἶναι τοῦτο*, after *δύναται*, and to translate it, *for it cannot be;* but I think it more simple to take *δύναται* for *δυνατόν ἐστι, For it is not possible he should have accused Ctesiphon from hatred toward me, and not have accused me in person, if he thought he could convict me.* Some editors put *ἐνόμιζεν αὐτὸν*, but I think the comma is better after *ἐνόμιζεν*· I should be very willing however to omit the comma entirely; or to restore that which I have taken away after *ἐμὲ δ'*, because in pronouncing the discourse, we ought not to pause here, *ἐμὲ δ' αὐτὸν* being an Attic tmesis instead of *ἐμαυτὸν δέ*.

11. *καὶ τιμωρίαι*] Hermogenes omits these two words. Reiske places them after *κρίσεις*, and proposes to use the accusative by writing thus; *κρίσεις καὶ τιμωρίας πικρὰς καὶ μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια*· I do not agree with him; and think it better to leave it as it is.

13. *ἐξῆν*] Some editions have *ἐξῆν αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρῆσθαι κατ' ἐμοῦ*.

16. *αὐτοῦ*.] Construe this with *κατηγορία*.

19. *ὑποκρίνεται*.] *He acts a comedy;* an allusion to the former employment of Æschines.

20. *κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί*·] This passage is thus to be understood; *He accuses me, and puts him* (Ctesiphon) *on trial.*

21. *πως*] Enclitic, meaning *in a certain manner.*

95 6. *Φιλοκράτους*] Much is said about this *Philocrates* in the oration of Æschines. See page 20 et seq.

11. *Φωκικοῦ*] See Notes, p. 51, l. 24.

17. *Λεύκτροις*] *Leuctra*, a city of Bœotia, near which the Thebans, under the command of Epaminondas, gained a celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians. This victory rendered them powerful in Greece, and very proud.

26. *ἑαυτοὺς*] Some editions have *ἀλλήλους*.

28. *ἐφύετο*.] See *φυομένου κακοῦ*, p. 109, l. 19. This word is properly used for plants, and is here employed metaphorically. We still retain this metaphor in our language, and say *πόθεν ἐφύτρωσε;* in the sense of, *whence has he come? from what place has he come out? whence does he make his appearance?*

30. ἀτυχῆς] *unfortunate Thebans;* he says this because 95
Alexander had just sacked, and entirely destroyed their city.

20. Ἀριστόδημος ἦν, ὁ ὑπ.] *It was Aristodemus, the comedi-* 96
an. We must remember that comedians were anciently more esteemed than they are in our day; that they were not even excluded from the administration of affairs. Those only were despised who, having but little talent, joined those companies that strolled through the country. Æschines began as an actor in these companies; and even, according to Demosthenes, only played third-rate parts. Our orator frequently alludes to this in his oration.

26. Εὔβ. κ. Κηφ.] *Eubulus and Cephisophon,* two citizens of Athens and officers of that city.

2. εἶτ', ὦ—] There is here also the rhetorical figure called 97
ἀποσιώπησις, *reticence.*

4. ἐτραγῴδεις] Some critics write also διετραγῴδεις, but I prefer it without the preposition.

6. παρελθὼν,] I have placed the comma after παρελθὼν, others have it after ταῦτα· but with this correction the sense seems to me more clear.

12. οὐδείς·] Some add εἰκότως after this word.

12. οὐδένα] Reiske prefers οὐδένας in the plural, and perhaps the hiatus caused by οὐδένα ἀπεστ. had some influence on his choice. Leaving it in the singular, in order to avoid the hiatus, I have transposed the word τότε, which is commonly placed after ἀπεσταλμένη.

14. ἐξεληλεγμένοι,] Attic perfect of ἐξελέγχομαι, and means *they had declared themselves.* It gives here the same sense as ἀποδεδειγμένοι, which some suppose to be the proper word.

20. Εὐρυβάτου] *Eurybates.* See Notes, p. 48, l. 3.

27. οὐδὲν] Some manuscripts omit this first οὐδέν, but I think the repetition gives the expression greater force.

4. Φίλιππον] Better without the article τὸν, which some insert. 98

12. ἐξελύσατε] Some write also ἐξελύσασθε.

17. γὰρ] After this word comes τὴν εἰρήνην, which I have transposed and placed after ἕνεκα· for which last, some also write ἕνεκεν.

98 30. *τὰς πρέσβεις*] Demosthenes here, by the way, answers the reproaches of Æschines, who charged him with a base complaisance towards the ambassadors of Philip, in introducing them to the assembly and public shows. These reproaches may be seen, p. 28.

99 2. *αὐτοῖς*] Others place this word after *ἀρχιτέκτονα*· I have transposed it, both on acount of the hiatus, and to render the sense more clear.

3. *ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν*] Idiomatic, instead of the genitive *δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, for two oboli.* They paid two oboli for a place at the spectacle; and these oboli were probably spent for repairing the seats. For the value of the obolus, see Notes, p. 10, l. 20.

10. *Ἑκατομβαιῶνος*] *The month of September;* so called because during this month they celebrated the festivals called *Ἑκατόμβαι,* as if we should say, *festivals of the great sacrifices.* For the word *ἑκατόμβη,* which literally means *a sacrifice of a hundred oxen,* means, in general, *any great sacrifice, any solemn sacrifice.*

13. *πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,*] instead of this, some place the words *πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον,* after *συνθήκας,* I suppose because the same expression is found in l. 22; but with me, that should be a reason for not admitting it, in order to vary the expression.

24. *Πρέσβεις, κ. τ. λ.*] Æschines and Demosthenes seem to indicate in their harangues on the *False Embassy,* that the same citizens who had been upon the first embassy were upon the second, that in relation to oaths. But we see by the decree itself that the deputies of the second were not the same as those of the first, excepting Æschines. To reconcile the two orators with the decree, we must believe that associates were given to the deputies there mentioned, and that these were chosen from among the deputies of the first embassy. Æschines says positively that there were eleven deputies in the second, including that of the allies; and it is also certain that Demosthenes was of this embassy.

100 13. *ὠμολόγησε*] Some prefer *ὤμοσε,* and then, with Reiske, we are almost compelled by the sense to put *ἕξειν* in brackets,

as superfluous; but by leaving ὡμολόγησε, the word ἔξειν does 100
very well, and is indispensable. I do not see that the sense would gain much, however, by the change.

14. τούτους, οὐχὶ] Some insert τοὺς, which seems to me gratuitous and inelegant, τούτους τούς.

19. μέλλει καὶ παρασκ. πορεύεσθαι,] The infinitive is here governed by, and depends upon, the two verbs; it means *that he is about to set out, and is making preparations for it.* The word μέλλει here means *is about to do;* a signification that always belongs to it when it is followed by an infinitive. But where it has no regimen, this verb means, *he defers, temporizes, protracts things*, βραδύνει, ἀναβάλλεται, χρονίζει. Demosthenes often employs μέλλει, in both senses.

21. τὸν πορθμὸν,] This word comes from πείρω, and means *passage.* There has been a great deal written about it; Wolfius says it means *a narrow sea*, τὴν στενὴν θάλασσαν· Taylor, who comes after him, thinks that it is applied to the strait that separates Eubœa from the continent, observing that *Porthmus* was also the name of a city, on a promontory of the island, (p. 112, l. 2.) But that could not be, since Philip could only conduct his army into Phocis by land, and the Athenians could only stop it by land, and consequently the reference can only be to the defile of Thermopylæ. It follows from this that the word πορθμὸς means *narrow passage, either by land or sea;* but more commonly used in the last sense.

11. ἔχηθ'] Some manuscripts have also ἄγηθ'. But if it is 101
only to vary the expression which is found l. 23, we ought to prefer ἔχηθ', the rather as this is as good, and now used in preference to the other. We say ἂν ἔχῃς ἡσυχίαν, *if you remain tranquil.*

17. ἀναλγησίας] *insensibility, stupidity*, synonymous with ἀναισθησία, ἀπάθεια. The Thebans who had aspired, under Epaminondas, to the government of Greece, were not then ἀναίσθητοι, (p. 104, l. 10;) but by treating them thus harshly Demosthenes was sure of pleasing the Athenians.

20. μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς;] It is found also with the interrogation after μετὰ ταῦτα.

101 26. *πρὸς Θηβαίους*] Reiske, on some authority, puts *πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους — γεγενῆσθαι.*

29. *Καλλισθένους*] *Callisthenes*, a citizen of Athens, who engaged in the affairs of government.

102 2. *συγκλήτου, κ. τ. λ.*] *In an extraordinary assembly convoked by the generals.* In relation to the assemblies, see Notes, p. 3, l. 4. They elected ten generals at Athens, each year; each tribe chose one; and the elections were held in the *Pnyx*. They commanded a day each; and each general of the day held the office of generalissimo. The generals commanded the armies, and in the city were the ministers of war.

4. *Μαιμακτηριῶνος*] *The month of December.* We do not know exactly which of our months correspond to the Attic months. There is a great difference in the opinions of the most skilful chronologists upon the subject. I have adopted the opinion which seemed to me most probable. The month *Μαιμακτηριών*, however, derives its name from *Διὸς μαιμάκτου, Jupiter, the turbulent*, or *stormy;* because Jupiter frequently troubles the air, and stirs up tempests in December.

12. *ἐπιτιμίοις,*] is here used in a bad sense, and means *chastisement.* In other places it means *prize, reward.* (See also Notes, p. 188, l. 26.) As if we should say; *he shall be considered as guilty of treason, and shall receive the reward of it;* which reward would, in this case, naturally be nothing else than a punishment.

13. *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς*] *The general of the day.* There are various opinions as to whether there is any difference between *στρατηγὸς* by itself, and when joined with the epithet *ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων·* and probably originally there was none, as in our day we say indiscriminately *general* and *general of an army.* Samuel Petit conjectures ingeniously but without proving it by authority, that the first of these words is applied to all the ten generals, and the second to him who, in his turn, held the chief command. According to Taylor, *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων*, might be *the commander of the heavy-armed infantry* (*ὁπλῖται*), as distinguished from the commander of the cavalry. See the two decrees, p. 127, 128. This relative signification of *ὅπλα* for *ὁπλῖ-*

4. τούτοις] For the same reason I have put this word before, 106
whilst others have it after ἀντιλέγων.

12. ἑωλοκρασίαν] This word is composed of ἑωὸς ὄλλυμι κρᾶσις, and according to its etymology, it ought to signify *the extreme intemperance of the preceding evening*. He adds ὥςπερ and τινά, *as in some sort*, because he employs the term figuratively; and the sense is: *Æschines has disgorged upon me the foul contents of his own villany and injustice, which it was necessary to refute before those who are too young to know well the facts.*

25. ταῦτα.] After this word some add also a second οὐκ ἔςι.

30. μισθωτος] *mercenary*. Demosthenes purposely placed the accent on the antepenult, instead of on the last syllable, knowing well the extreme delicacy of the Athenian ear, and feeling sure that his audience would correct him, and in so doing, pronounce the word in the proper manner. So it really happened, and the Athenians, to correct him, cried out with one voice μισθωτός. Demosthenes, delighted with the effect which he had produced, exclaimed, addressing Æschines; *Do you hear what they say?* There are many persons, however, who do not believe this anecdote, and pretend that the orator boldly risked the question, after having inflamed and exasperated the minds of his audience, by a most violent sally against the traitors, and thus disposed them to answer according to his wishes. Others say that the poet Menander, a friend of Demosthenes, and one of the judges, was the only one who repeated the cry of *mercenary*, and that Demosthenes used his words as if they had been the sentiments of the whole assembly. Others again relate, that after Demosthenes had thus called upon the judges, they began to confer and deliberate with each other, but that he, without waiting for their answer, did not hesitate to proceed, as if sure that it would be in his favor.

27. Διονυσίοις,] *The festivals in honor of Bacchus* were of 107
two sorts, the greater and the less. The former were among the most solemn of the Athenian festivals; they were celebrated within the city, towards spring, and were called Διονύσια· the latter were celebrated in the open country, in autumn, and had the name of Λήναια.

107 28. *τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ ·*] understood *ἐπιδείξει*, or *ἀγωνίᾳ*, or *εἰσόδῳ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν*, or *εἰσαγωγῇ*. The tragic poets, some time before the great festivals in honor of Bacchus, brought forward the new pieces which they had written, as candidates for the prize. Judges were appointed by the state, to determine their respective merit. The pieces were acted before them, and even in the presence of the people, but apparently without much pomp. The judges gave in their votes, and the piece which obtained the plurality of them was declared victorious, was crowned as such, and represented with great splendor at the public expense. Those which were second and third in rank were also represented during the festival, and were called *the new tragedies*.

31. *Κλήτορες,*] a sort of *sheriffs* who summoned the accused before the court. The accuser wrote his charge in the following form: *κατηγορῶ τοῦδε, καὶ προσκαλοῦμαι τοῦτον διὰ τῦ δεῖνος εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.* (See Notes, p. 139, l. 15.)

108 24. *Ὁ γὰρ διώκων, κ. τ. λ.*] As it is very unpleasant to be obliged to sound one's own praises, Demosthenes, who here speaks at length of the services he has rendered to the state, uses great circumspection and moderation in so doing. He declares to his audience, that he does it with regret, and that all the odium of the thing ought to fall upon Æschines, who forces him to be his own panegyrist.

109 9. *φορὰν*] from *φέρω*, and signifies *abundance, affluence, increase*.

26. *Δολόπων*] The *Dolopians* are called by some authors a tribe from Thessaly; others assert them to have inhabited Ætolia, and others, Epirus. They were present at the siege of Troy, as followers of Achilles, or Phœnix, or Pyrrhus, for this is also an unsettled point.

111 1. *τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἔκπε.*] Philip lost his right eye by a wound from an arrow at the siege of Methone; in a battle fought with the Triballians, he was wounded in the thigh, and had a horse killed under him. He was probably wounded on other occasions, though the fact is not particularly mentioned by historians.

11. *καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι*] *both in public speeches and in* 111
theatrical representations, or rather, *at the tribunal, and at the theatre.*

28. *Διοπείθους*] *Diopithes*, a minister and general of the Athenians, father of the comic poet Menander, the model of Terence. As respects *Eubulus*, see p. 96, l. 26, and *Aristophon*, p. 67, l. 20.

3. *Φιλιστίδην — Κλείταρχον,*] *Philistides* and *Clitarchus*, 112
two ambitious and evil-minded citizens, each of whom enslaved his country to further the views of Philip.

11. *Μυσῶν λείαν*] *The prey of the Mysians*, that is, the prey of the weakest nations, who were themselves pillaged by all others. This proverb arose from the circumstance, that the Mysians, during the absence of their king Telephus, were so weak and defenceless as to be insulted and pillaged with impunity by all their neighbours; hence to express the lowest degree of weakness and of degradation, a nation was said to be the prey even of the Mysians, who were themselves the prey of all others.

13. *ὁρώντων,*] Reiske supports the reading *καὶ ὄντων*, and gives his reasons in a note. I agree with Taylor in preserving *ὁρώντων*, but am induced to omit the *καὶ*, being of opinion that some transcriber has written *καὶ ὄντων* instead of *ὁρώντων*, either through inattention, or because, the initial letters being erased, he wrote from conjecture. The omission of *καὶ* also gives more force to the language the orator employs. This expression is thus used by Homer, Iliad, *Λ*. 88.

Οὔτις, ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο.

28. *Βοηδρομιῶνος,*] *The month of November.* It was so named from the festivals celebrated during this month, and called *Βοηδρόμια*, that is, *of ready assistance.* The occasion of their institution was that Ion, son of Xuthus, had come in great haste to the assistance of the Athenians, when hard pressed by Eumolpus, son of Neptune. The name of the festival is taken from *βοὴ*, *cry*, and *δρέμω*, *I run*, whence is formed *βοηδρομέω*, *I run at the cry, I fly to the assistance.* It was also during the month *Boëdromion*, that Theseus defeated the Amazons who besieged Athens.

113 25. *βουλῆς γνώμη,*] *By the opinion of the senate.* If any manuscripts had *γνώμη* in the nominative, Taylor would have thought these two words transposed, and that they should be written instead of *ψήφισμα,* in the twenty-third line. This learned critic is led to form this opinion from the circumstance that an affair discussed in the Senate was called *βουλῆς γνώμη,* and not *ψήφισμα.* He is right, if the affair is discussed for the first time in the Senate; for in that case only a *βούλευμα,* or rather *προβούλευμα, preparatory decree* was given. But here, as the context shows us, the act in question has passed from the Senate to the people, and by the people has again been referred to the Senate. Such an act ought, as I should think, to be called *ψήφισμα,* for it has the sanction of both Senate and people; *δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ,* (see p. 99, l. 15.) We should therefore retain *ψήφισμα,* and also read *γνώμη.* The affair is an important one. The Senate, desiring it should be discussed with great solemnity, had determined that not only the Prytanes, but also the generals should express to them the wishes of the people; *πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ — ἀνενεγκόντες,* with *εἰς βουλὴν* understood. We have elsewhere remarked with regard to the generals, that when they were not with the army, they acted as ministers or civil magistrates at Athens.

114 16. *Ἀκαμέδων.*] It is found thus written in every edition; but from what we see, p. 113, l. 1., it must be a mistake, and should be written *Λεωδάμας,* a correction I should not scruple to make in a second impression.

116 5. *παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυσεν,*] *They lodged at your house.* This signification of the verb is retained in this expression, very common among us, *πῦ ἔχετε τὸ κατάλυμά σας; where do you lodge?*

14. *Ἀριστονίκου*] There were two persons of the name of Aristonicus, one of Marathon, and the other of the borough Phrearrhe, or according to Plutarch, of Anagyrus. It is the latter who is here alluded to, the same who decreed a golden crown to Demomeles. We see (p. 163, l. 20,) that Demomeles and Hyperides, before him, had caused a decree to be passed in favor of the same Demosthenes, awarding to him a golden crown, to be proclaimed at the theatre.

21. *Γαμηλιῶνος*] *The month of March.* It was so called 116
because it was the month during which were celebrated the festivals of Juno, called *Γαμήλια*, as if they would say *marriage festivals*, from *γάμος*, *marriage*. For Juno was the tutelar goddess in marriage and its consequences.

6. *ἀγωνοθέτην.*] See Notes, p. 62, l. 27. 117

5. *ὑπ ἐπερωτήσω*·] Better than the common reading *ὑπεὶ ἐρω-* 118
τήσω.

25. *Βοσποφίχω,*] *Bosporichus* is the proper name of the pontiff, but it is, notwithstanding, a compound word. The whole decree is in the Doric dialect of the Byzantines, and the name of the pontiff was placed at the head of all decrees, as was that of the Archon at Athens.

26. *τῇ ἀλίᾳ*] This word has given a great deal of trouble to learned critics, because in the manuscripts it is found written *τεαλλᾳ*. Some have thought it the name of a place; others have joined it to the *ἐν*, and have made a proper name of it, as if it was *Damagetus, son of Enteakias.* Neither of these conjectures appears correct, and the word can mean nothing else but *assembly*, in the sense in which Herodotus uses it, *ἀλλην ἐποιήσαντο, they formed an assembly.* Those who refrain strictly from touching the text, are satisfied with supposing that *τε* was a peculiarity of the dialect of the Byzantines, who employed it where *τᾷ* was commonly used by other Dorians; but in this case I prefer the supposition that they said *τῇ* or perhaps *ταῖ ἀλίαι*, with the *ι not* subscribed, and as there was no difference in pronunciation between *αι* and *ε* the mistake might easily be made in writing from dictation, as is frequently the case.

30. *χάριτας*] It is commonly written *χρείας.*

8. *ἐπιγαμίαν,*] This word signifies *the reciprocal right* which 119
persons of different nations have *to unite in marriage*, a right which was generally provided for by a particular article in treaties of alliance. The word *πολιτεία*, which follows, is synonymous with what we call at present *πολιτογραφία*, and signifies *right of citizenship.*

119 8. *κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν,*] In most editions and manuscripts this passage is written *ἐκ τᾶς γᾶς, καὶ οἰκείαν πρ.*, which is evidently a corruption of the original text. It has been corrected by being written *ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, the right of owning lands and houses.* For my own part I prefer *κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν,* and thus the correction is, in the first place, nearer to the text, which ought always to be adopted when the sense will allow it; and, in the second place, when the rights of citizenship and of owning lands were granted to the Athenians, it would naturally follow that they possessed the right of owning houses, a right inseparable from the others. If we leave *οἰκείαν* without correction, as an adjective agreeing with *προεδρίαν,* it makes very poor sense. I prefer, therefore, *οἰκίαν,* and the correction consists merely in the diphthong, which might be a mistake in writing, since *ει* and *ι* are pronounced in exactly the same manner. The sense of the passage is, then, as follows; the Athenians were allowed *the right of possessing lands,* and *the right of domicile;* that is, every Athenian who came to Byzantium, had a right to be accommodated with a lodging at the public expense, and thus it was truly a privilege which was granted to them. In this way, the sense appears to me perfectly clear and natural.

9. *πόθοδον*] Doric for *πρόσοδον,* and signifies *access, admission, right of entrance.*

10. *παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ ἱερά·*] *near those who have the care of sacred things,* which I prefer to the Doric *πράτοις,* for *πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά.*

12. *πᾶσαν προσέτι λειτουργίαν·*] *And those of the Athenians who wished to dwell in the city, to be, moreover, free from all taxes of every kind.* I have thus corrected *προσέτι,* instead of the common *πρὸς τὰν,* which is even entirely omitted by some editors, and which Reiske corrects by writing *πασᾶν προστακτᾶν λειτυργιᾶν.*

13. *ἐκκαιδεκαπήχεις*] *to erect three statues of sixteen cubits.* We ought not to be surprised at the height of these statues, since it is well known that the ancients, to show their gratitude to their benefactors, frequently erected colossal statues in honor of them. We will merely mention the famous statue of the Sun,

known under the name of the Colossus of Rhodes, which was 119
of such a prodigious size that vessels could pass with full sails, between its legs; and the statue of Olympian Jupiter, the masterpiece of Phidias which was so large that the god who was represented in a sitting posture could not have stood erect under the roof of the temple.

16. *θεωρίας*] In one of the oldest editions which I have before me, that of *John Hervage, Basle*, 1532, I find *δωρίας*, which does not make sense, but is evidently a corruption of *θεωρίας*, in the manuscripts. It has been also written by some *δωριὰς*, and by others *Δωριεῦσι*, which alteration does not much improve it. We are indebted to Reiske for this very fortunate correction *θεωρίας, deputations to assist at the games.*

17. *Ἴσθμια, κ. τ. λ.*] The *Isthmian games*, were celebrated every four years at the isthmus of Corinth, in honor of Neptune. They were restored by Theseus, and continued even after the ruin of Corinth. The *Nemean games*, which derived their name from Nemea, a town and forest of Peloponnesus, and which were instituted or renewed by Hercules after he had slain the Nemean lion, were celebrated every two years near the scene of his victory. The *Olympic games* were thus named from Olympia, also called Pisa, near which they took place every four years, in honor of Olympian Jupiter, and were the most remarkable. They were instituted by Hercules, and every one knows that from them the Greeks dated historical events. The *Pythian games* were sacred to Apollo, surnamed Pythian on account of the serpent Python which he had slain, and were celebrated every four years, near the famous temple of Delphi.

18. *τὼ στεφάνω ὥ συνστεφάνωται*] Reiske here makes the correction *τὼς στεφάνως, οὕς ἐστεφάνωται*, in the accusative plural; for otherwise the text, being left, as it is commonly, in the dative singular *τῷ στεφάνῳ, ᾧ συνστεφ.*, is extremely obscure. But we must recollect that two nations were here spoken of, the Byzantines and the Perinthians, and two crowns which they granted; thus neither the singular nor the plural would be employed, but the dual, as I have put it, and the whole difficulty arises from a mere mistake in the orthography. As to the word *συνστεφάνωται*,

119 I have not been willing even to alter it, because the preposition *σὺν* relates to the two nations which joined in crowning the Athenian people; and to the objection that it should be *συνεςεφάνωται*, it is enough to answer, that the past tenses are frequently found among the poets without the augment, and this omission, with that of the *ν* of the preposition, is very common in Modern Greek, which preserves a great part of, or rather which is formed from, the Æolico-Doric dialect.

29. *πράττων γέγονε*] I have made the correction *πράττων*, instead of the infinitive *πράττειν*, which renders the passage very obscure. I here consider the word *γέγονε*, as having the same sense as *διετέλεσε*, which, joined to the participle, is an idiomatic expression for *ἔπραξε*, and the sense thus becomes perfectly clear and simple. To avoid the difficulty, Reiske has made a very ingenious correction, but it is not so near to the text; as some manuscripts have *πράττειν αἴτιος*, he has thence inferred *παραίτιος*, writing also *μεγίςυ*, instead of *μίγιςον*.

30. *ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου,*] *χειρὸς*, or *δυναστείας*, is understood.

121 3. *Ἥμεῖς, κ. τ. λ.*] The Peloponnesian war was ended. The victorious Lacedæmonians had become masters of Athens, had ruined its walls, destroyed its vessels, and established in it a government of thirty tyrants. All powerful in Greece, they had just sent against the monarch of Persia, Agesilaus, who made him tremble in his palace. One of the governors of Artaxerxes in Asia found means to detach from their party Thebes, Argos, and Corinth. The Thebans sent ambassadors to the Athenians to ask their assistance and participation in the league; and they, though but just delivered from their tyrants, and in spite of their own weakness and the power of their rival, took up arms and marched first to Haliartus, a town of Bœotia, and then to Corinth, near which the Lacedæmonians had a considerable number of troops, under excellent generals. All this the Athenians did, although they had good reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Thebans and Corinthians towards them, in the Peloponnesian war.

12. *Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον*] The *Decelian war*. Decelia was a borough of Attica. The Lacedæmonians obtained possession

of it in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war; they for- 121
tified it, and, by means of that advantageous situation, were enabled to do great injury to the Athenians, as long as hostilities lasted. The latter part of the war was therefore called the Decelian war, and the fort became so famous that this name was sometimes given to the whole Peloponnesian war which arose between Athens and Lacedæmon. The hostilities of the Corcyræans against Corinth for their reciprocal pretensions to Epidamnus were the occasion and the pretext, but the alarming and oppressive power of Athens was the true cause of it. All the nations of Greece were drawn into it, some taking one side and some the other. It lasted twenty-seven years, and was called the *Peloponnesian war*, because the Lacedæmonians who took the principal part in it, inhabited that division of Greece which bore the name of Peloponnesus.

20. *οἰκίσκῳ*] *small house*, and also *bird-cage*, a signification which here renders the sense more forcible.

25. *οὓς Λακεδαιμονίους*] An accusative, to be construed with *ἀνελεῖν*. The Thebans, with Epaminondas at their head, had gained a victory over the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, and had thus given a severe blow to their power. Under the command of the same general they had invaded and laid waste Laconia, and had caused Sparta itself to tremble for its safety. The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy who became every day more bold and enterprising, had recourse to the Athenians, to whom they sent ambassadors to implore assistance. The Athenians, on the other hand, had not forgotten the ill treatment they had experienced from Sparta on more than one occasion, yet they resolved to succour their former rivals with their whole strength.

1. *ἐκ τούτων ἐδείξατε,*] I have transposed these words, which, 122
in other editions, are found in an inverse order; and for a very evident reason, that it suits the ear better, a reason which has often influenced me where I have not mentioned it in the notes, as being of little consequence.

7. *πάλιν σφ. Θηβ. τὴν Εὔβοιαν,*] *The Thebans in their turn appropriating to themselves Eubœa.* He says *in their turn*,

122 because Eubœa had been coveted by Philip (see p. 111, l. 31,) by Athens, and by Thebes. The island was first divided by two factions, of which one asked the assistance of the Thebans, and the other that of the Athenians. The former triumphed at first, but on the arrival of the Athenians the face of affairs was changed. They repelled the Thebans, drove them from Eubœa, restored tranquillity to the island, and were willing to receive in recompense nothing but the glory of having conquered it, and given it peace. They had, however, much reason to complain of Themison, tyrant of Eretria, who, in concert with Theodorus, had taken from them Oropus in time of peace.

123 15. *τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν παρ.*] Better than the common *τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον*, or with the preposition *εἰς*.

17. *τὸ πέμπτον μέρος*] It was necessary that the accuser should have at least a fifth part of the votes; otherwise, he was condemned to pay a fine, more or less heavy, or was subject to some severer punishment.

18. *τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν,*] The number of those who were to contribute to equip the galleys, amounted to twelve hundred men. They were divided into twenty classes, called *συμμορίαι*, each of sixty men; and each class was subdivided into five parts, each of twelve men. The richest person of each class was called *ἡγεμών*, the *chief*, and the others followed in the order of their wealth. Demosthenes, therefore, says that there is nothing which those who, as the richest, held the first, the second, or the third rank, in these classes, would not have given him to suppress the law he had proposed, since it was made to bear upon the rich, and to alleviate the burdens of the poor.

21. *ὑπωμοσίᾳ;*] This word signifies, *a delay in the decision of a question, obtained by one of the parties, under pretence of illness, of a necessary journey, &c. with an oath that he would be present at the judgment of the case.* To ask for a delay under any one of these pretences, and to bind one's self by such an oath was called *ὑπόμνυσθαι*.

124 28. *τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ*] *Three vessels and a boat.* The word *ὑπηρετικὸν*, comes from *ὑπὸ*, *under*, and *ἐρέττω*, *I row*; that is to say, *a vessel which is rowed below another*, whence

the word ὑπηρέτης has also come to signify *servant*. These 124
same small vessels had also several other names, σκάφαι, λίβυρναι, κέλητες, ἀκάτια, γαῦλοι, λέμβοι, κάφαβοι· from the last of which is derived the modern word καφάβι, *vessel*, in general. They were also called ἐφόλκια, from the verb ἕλκω, *I drag*, for they were fastened by cables to the larger vessels which thus drew them in tow.

2. ἐθέλειν,] This word is by many critics rejected as redun- 125
dant, and in truth it appears so by the obscurity which it produces when placed after ποιεῖν, as it commonly is; but as I have transposed it, it is neither redundant nor obscure, for the sense is: *Do you think it is little, that the rich would be willing to spend, in order to escape doing what is just?*

9. οὐκ ἐν Μυνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο,] *No one has seated himself at Munychium*, that is, *no one has taken refuge as a supliant in the temple of Diana at Munychium*. This was a port of Attica, where was a celebrated temple consecrated to this goddess, which was an asylum to all those prosecuted for debt. The orator says *seated himself*, because that was the posture of the suppliants.

10. ἀποστολέων] The Athenians gave the name of ἀποστολεῖς to the officers who took charge of the naval forces, and held them in readiness for a sudden expedition. The word might perhaps now be translated *commissioners of the navy department*.

22. ἀρχόντων] See the note on ἄρχοντος, p. 201. 126

9. Ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ] I have made this transposition, 127
preferring it to the common reading ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχει, καί. Some manuscripts omit the two last words, and Reiske encloses them between brackets.

12. Ναυσικλῆς, κ. τ. λ.] *Nausicles* and *Diotimus*, Athenian generals, who are known only by what Demosthenes says of them. Æschines in his speech mentions a Charidemus; he may be the same as the one here alluded to (see p. 28, l. 17, and the note.) Demosthenes, in his oration on the *False Embassy*, speaks of *Neoptolemus*, a famous comedian, employed on public business. The one here mentioned cannot be the

127 same, for in his oration on the *Peace*, he expressly declares that Neoptolemus the comedian had gone with all his fortune to Macedonia.

20. *μοι*] This word appears to me better when placed before *τὰ ψηφίσματα*, than after it, as it commonly is.

30. *Φιάλωνος*,] This *Phialon* is known to us only by this passage of the decree.

128 8. *ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ π. μ.*] *In the battle near the river.* We do not know what battle nor what river is here alluded to; it may be, however, some river near *Salamis*, a town of Cyprus where the Athenians made this expedition, of which we have no account. Possibly, notwithstanding many objections may be made, it refers to what Thucydides relates, Lib. I. 112, *πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ, Φοίνιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν.*

21. *ὑπεύθυνος*] This word is commonly placed after *ἐπέδωκα*, but I have preferred to transpose it thus.

24. *οἱ λογισταὶ*,] See Notes, p. 7. l. 30.

31. *Πυανεψιῶνος*] *The month of January.* So called because during this month were celebrated the festivals of Apollo, called *Πυανέψια*, from *πύανα*, *beans*, and *ἕψειν*, *to boil*, as if we should say, *festival of boiled beans*, for these were the offering made to the god. As I have already given a short account of the Attic months, which are all mentioned in these speeches except that of *Ποσειδεών*, I shall take this opportunity of saying that this corresponds to our *February*, and is so called because it was sacred to *Neptune*, whose name in Greek, is *Ποσειδῶν*.

129 8. *θεωρικοῖς*] understood *χρήμασιν*, *the money for the theatres*, or *the funds for the poor*, to enable them to attend at the theatres. (See p. 99, l. 3, and p. 107, l. 26.) Wolfius, however, supposes it to be masculine, and to signifiy *those who receive theatre money*, that is, *the poor*.

130 13. *ἀναγορεύεσθαι*;] I have followed my own judgment in preferring the infinitive with the interrogation, instead of the common *ἀναγορευέτω*, with the interrogation after *στεφανοῖ*, which is also written *στεφανώσηται*.

15. *ἐλλεβορίζεις*] *to have recourse to hellebore*, a plant em- 130
ployed as a remedy for a disordered brain. Anticyra, an island in the Propontis, owed its celebrity to the quantity of hellebore which it produced.

16. *ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς,*] Reiske adds *λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν*. Gail, thinking that he is not authorized to make this addition, says it would be better to understand *ὄντος*, with *ἀδικήματος*, and to regard these two words as a genitive absolute. I see no reason why we should not construe *ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς* with *δίκη*, and say *δίκην ἀδικήματος*, as well as *δίκην φθόνου, δίκην βλάβης, δίκην κλοπῆς*.

20. *τῷ δημοτικῷ,*] See p. 58, paragraph *Οἶμαι, κ. τ. λ.*

25. *ὥςπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης,*] *As if from the wagon;* a proverbial expression signifying, *you say indiscriminately whatever comes into your head.* There are several opinions as to the origin of this expression, but it is very probably derived from the ancient comedies, which carried freedom of speech to such a degree as to attack not only the most respectable men, but the gods themselves; as the actors, with a wagon for their stage, insulted all those who passed, the proverb might naturally be taken from this custom.

27. *λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας*] *Invective is very different from accusation.* Demosthenes here points out the different circumstances which characterize each of them. Cicero, who followed the Greek orator as his model, thus expresses himself in a similar case, in his speech *Pro M. Cælio.* "Invective is one thing, accusation another. Accusation must have some crime for its object; it requires that we should well establish the state of the question, that we should designate in an unequivocal manner the person accused; that we should prove by reasons, and confirm by witnesses. But invective has for its sole object to wound the feelings. If it is violent, it is called outrage; if it is gay and witty, it is called pleasantry."

3. *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων,*] *From your private occupations.* The 131
sense is better than that which is furnished by the reading *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν*.

131 15. *προθεσμίᾳ,*] *an appointed day.* When the judges gave their sentence on private disputes, they appointed a day on which it was to be carried into execution, and which was called *προθεσμία,* or *τακτή,* or *κυρία,* the word *ἡμέρα* being understood. The careless pleaders who suffered that day to pass without conforming to their duty, were called *ὑπερήμεροι τῆς προθεσμίας·* as if we should say *bad pay-masters, who are in arrears, who wait too long before paying.* Sometimes the party which gained the cause, gave up something of its rights, granted a delay, and prolonged by favor the prescribed term. This was called *ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὑπερημερίαν.* On the contrary *ὑπερημερίαν πράξαι, ὑπερημερίαν εἰσπράττειν,* was to exact payment without mercy at the appointed time. There were great penalties against debtors who remained long in arrears. The scholiast on Aristophanes asserts that they were condemned to pay four times the amount of the debt. He adds that if they did not pay in money, they paid in flesh and bones, as it depended upon their creditors to keep them in prison and in irons. Thence it became common among the Greeks to call prisoners for debt *ἐγκαλοσκελεῖς, fettered,* or *bound.*

29. *Αἰακὸς, κ. τ. λ.*] *For if the accusers were Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos.* These three kings were so famous for their justice and integrity during their lives, that mythology has made them the judges of the lower regions, after death. Æacus judged the Europeans, Rhadamanthus the Asiatics, and Minos discussed doubtful points with them, and decided as president. *Ῥαδαμάνθυος κρίσις, a sentence of Rhadamanthus,* became a proverb to signify the *uncorrupt justice of a sentence.*

30. *σπερμ., περίτ. ἀγ.,*] The first of these words has not here the same signification as it has in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 579, according to its etymology from *σπέρμα, seed,* and *λέγω, I collect.* It has rather the sense of *σπείρων λόγους, a sower of words,* and means here a *babbler.* The second expression *περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς,* signifies *broken to the tricks of the bar,* or *one who has passed his life in learning all the arts of chicane, τετριμμένος περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν.* It is in this sense that Aristophanes in his *Clouds,* 446, employs *περίτριμμα δικῶν.*

7. *διάγνωσις τῶν τοιούτων;*] I have thus corrected, instead of 132
the common reading *ἢ μὴ τοιούτων, τίς διάγνωσις;* or, as others have it, *ἢ καλῶν, ἢ μὴ τοιούτων, κτλ.*

18. *χοίνικας παχείας*] *large chains. Εἰπὼν δουλεύειν αὐτὸν, τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῖς φαύλοις τῶν δούλων ἐπήγαγε, τὰς πέδας λέγων· τοῦτο γὰρ καλεῖ χοίνικας, τὸ στρογγύλον δηλῶν.*

19. *ξύλον;*] *wooden stocks*, in which the feet of the slaves were put, to prevent them from running away.

20. *ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ, κ. τ. λ.*] *In the house of ill-fame situated near the hero Calamites*, that is, *near the chapel of the hero Calamites;* since we very frequently say at the present day *ἤμεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον*, meaning, *I have been at St. George's Church, &c.* Thus there is no need of correcting the text as some critics propose *ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἡρῴῳ.* Nothing is known about this hero Calamites.

22. *ἐξέθρεψέ σε;*] Some critics add after this word: *ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, κἄν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω.*

29. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ὧν ἔτυχεν, ἦν,*] Some translators thus interpret this passage: *for he was not one of those among whom fortune has since placed him.* Although this is the literal sense, and the Ὀψὲ γὰρ, which follows, appears somewhat to favor this interpretation, I agree with those who give it the sense of *οὐ τῶν τυχόντων ἦν·* as we still say at the present day, *δὲν ἦτον ἀπὸ τοὺς τυχόντας, he was no ordinary man*, ironically here employed; and this figure of rhetoric is called, *παρ' ὑπόνοιαν*, saying something very different from what the audience expect.

30. *χθὲς — καὶ πρῴην,*] *Of yesterday and the day before.* A sort of proverbial expression to signify something very recent, something of very late date, and very frequently employed by some authors, as well as *νῦν καὶ χθὲς*, in the same sense.

3. Ἐμποῦσαν] A spectre said to take all forms, which the 133
people believed in and were foolishly afraid of. It was in former times what the *βρυκόλακος, vampire*, is now in Greece.

14. *ἀποψηφισθέντα* Ἀντ.] The word *ἀποψηφίζεσθαι*, which commonly means *to be acquitted*, in a census of the citizens, which was called *διαψήφισις*, signifies *to be rejected from the list*, and is nearly synonymous with the word *ἀποδοκιμάζεσθαι.*

133 As to *Antiphon*, it appears that, while the census was making as usual, he had artfully contrived to have his name written down. This interpolation being discovered, his name was crossed out, and he was rejected. His mortification was so great that he went over to Philip, to whom he had promised that he would burn all the navy-yards of Attica.

21. *ἄνευ ψηφίσματος,*] The opinions of critics are divided as to whether these two words relate to *ἀφεθῆναι*, or to *ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων*. As for me, I should prefer to make it relate to the latter.

22. *Ἀρείου πάγου*] See Notes, p. 9. l. 11.

26. *διαδὺς,*] This ingenious expression would properly be used of an animal which burrows in the earth, and in general, of any one who as it were, sinks into the earth, to avoid pursuit.

31. *σύνδικον, κ. τ. λ.*] *Orator of the republic* (before the Amphictyons) *to defend your rights in the temple of Delos.* The word *σύνδικος* signified in general an orator who with an associate undertook to defend the same cause. It was said of the one who spoke first and opened the debate, that he *πρωτολογεῖ*, and this sort of precedence was called *πρωτολογία*. It was said of the second, that he *δευτερολογεῖ*, and this subordinate part was called *δευτερολογία*. The word *σύνδικος* had also a more peculiar meaning; for it was used of an orator chosen and deputed to support the prerogatives of a town or of a whole nation, and to be the defender of the law of nations. Thus we read in Plutarch that the Athenians elected Aristides for their syndic, and charged him to plead, in the name of their citizens, the cause of all Greece. Demosthenes tells us in his speech *against Leptinus* that there was a law expressly forbidding that the same person should be twice chosen syndic, lest this office which was first instituted for the public utility, should insensibly be turned to the advantage of individuals. The moderns have borrowed from the ancients the term *syndic*, but in another sense, meaning one elected to superintend the affairs of a community, or of a body of which he is a member; thus the four syndics in the government of Geneva, are, to a

certain extent, what the President is in the United States, 133
or rather what the Governor is in each state of the Union.

4. *Ὑπερίδην — προστάξε·*] Some editors write the dative; the 134
accusative, however, is entirely in conformity with the modern dialect. ***Hyperides*** was one of the ten celebrated Athenian orators. He was remarkable for the softness and delicacy of his style; he was always an opposer of Alexander (see Proleg. p. ή.) Antipater, one of Alexander's successors, obliged the Athenians to banish him from their city, pursued him in exile, and finally caused his death.

5. *ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ — τὴν ψῆφον*] ***And that, when each one had taken from the altar the sign of his vote;*** that is, the ball or mark which they used to declare their votes. They took them from the altar only in questions concerning religion.

10. *ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων*] ***In the name of, in the place of all*** (the Areopagites).

21. *ὅμοιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς*] ***similar (is it not?) to the things of which he accuses me.*** The expression is ironical. The *οὐ γάρ;* has the sense of *οὐκ ἄρα,* and *ὅμοιον οἷς* is equivalent to *ὅμοιον τούτοις ἃ ἐμοί.*

23. *Πύθωνα*] ***Python of Byzantium,*** a great orator, had obtained the rights of citizenship at Athens, and had afterwards embraced the part of Philip. He had a lively and persuasive eloquence, which it was difficult to resist. He was of great service to Philip on several occasions, but he found in Demosthenes a man fully able to answer him, and who soon could call back the minds of the audience which he had led away.

20. *πολλά γ' ἐγώ*] I have added the *γ'* instead of *ἄν* which 135
some write, while others omit it altogether.

23. *παρ' ὑμῖν*] Taylor proposes *παρ' ὑμῶν,* but the dative appears to me preferable.

1. *φανερῶς*] This word is by some editors construed with 136
πολεμεῖν, and then the place of the comma is changed; by others with *συναγωνίζεσθαι,* whom I have followed in my text.

6. *ἄνθρωπος,*] Markland prefers *ὁ ἄνθρωπος.* It does not appear to me, however, that the want of the article in that

136 case renders the phrase defective. He says *a man* (Philip), without saying definitely *the man*. It is as if we were to say *a march was made upon Attica*, in an indefinite manner, and the hearers, who were well acquainted with the affairs of the time, knew very well what was meant. There is a parallel case in the third Olynthiac, where we find this passage: *οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν τὰ χωρία προείληφεν ἄνθρωπος.*

9. *ἰαμβειογράφος*] I should translate this word, *defamer*, and for this reason; the Greek word literally means *an author of Iambic verses*, or *an author of satires*, for the Iambic measure was formerly employed in sarcastic and libellous pieces, either because it was better adapted than any other to works of this sort, or because it was brought into fashion by Archilochus, who had so much skill and point in his satires, that those whom he attacked became furious, and hung themselves in rage and despair. Æschines is not known to have been an author of Iambics or of satires, but as they were used to throw ridicule upon people and to defame them, it is very probable that this word was employed to designate a calumniator, who seeks to attack by sarcasm the honor of others. There are some critics, however, who think it must be *ἰαμβοφάγος, eater of Iambics*, *ὅτι τὰ ἰαμβεῖα τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔλεγεν, ὑποκριτὴς ὤν.* Taylor.

12. *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι.*] *Let him show it at the expense of my water*, that is *while the water which limits the time of my speech is flowing*. To understand this expression we must call to mind that every orator was limited as to the time of his speech, by a water clock called *κλεψύδρα*, that is, *a machine whence water flows by stealth*, because at the bottom of the vessel there was a small hole, through which the water fell slowly. The word is composed of *κλέπτω, I steal*, and *ὕδωρ, water*. Reiske prefers *ἐν τῷ ἐμ. ὕδ.* I do not agree with him, and *ἐπὶ* here appears to me far better.

31. *πατρῷος*] *Paternal Apollo*, or *Apollo to whom the republic owes its origin*. The Athenians honored Jupiter and Apollo under the particular title of *θεοὶ πατρῷοι*. The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, v. 1458, gives this reason. The Athenians called Jupiter *πατρῷος*, because after having been

brought up in Arcadia, or as others say, in Crete, he came 136
and settled in Athens. *They gave the same name to Apollo, because he married Creusa, daughter of king Erechtheus, who bore him a son, Ion.* Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὅτι Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρα ἔγημε τὴν Κρέουσαν, ἐξ ἧς γίνεται ὁ Ἴων. Meursius thinks that this part of the passage is a corruption, and that we ought to restore the word Ξοῦθος, which has been omitted by the carelessness of some transcriber, and thus read ὅτε Ξοῦθος Ἐρεχθέως, κ. τ. λ. What induces Meursius to make this correction is, that a number of ancient witnesses prove that it was Xuthus and not Apollo, who was the husband of Creusa, and the father of Ion. Apollodorus, among others, after saying that Erechtheus had three daughters, tells us in express terms who their husbands were. *Χθονίαν μὲν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσαν δὲ Ξοῦθος, Πρόκριν δὲ Κέφαλος, Butes married Chthonia; Xuthus Creusa; and Cephalus, Procris.* In fact, the scholiast whom we have mentioned, positively asserts a little while after, that Jupiter and Apollo were called πατρῷοι, because the Athenians were the first to receive them, and to honor them by sacrifices. Οὕτω τιμᾶται παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις Ζεὺς πατρῷος καὶ Ἀπόλλων, διὰ τὸ πρώτους ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὴν χώραν, καὶ θυσίας συντελέσαι κατὰ φρήτρας, καὶ δήμους, καὶ συγγενείας, μόνους Ἑλλήνων. Thus, independently of historical proofs, this second passage of the scholiast would be enough to show that the first needs correction. It may be observed that the Athenians had not only *paternal* deities, if we may so call them, but *maternal* also, that is, those from whom they thought they descended through a female line. This is evident from this passage of Xenophon, Πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων, καὶ μητρῴων, — παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα· (Hist. Græc. Lib. II. c. 4.)

17. ὃς] Reiske prefers ὃ καὶ ἅπαντ᾽ ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 137
πράγματα.

18. ὁ συγκατασκευάσας,] This signifies *one who, by his intrigues and secret machinations concerted with Philip, has excited war.* The same expression s used l. 27; see also p. 142, l. 11, συμπαρασκευάσας.

137 21. ἄγεις,] Reiske prefers εἰσάγεις. But besides the pleonasm which I find in the preposition εἰς τὴν Ἀτ. εἰσάγεις, a similar expression found in the modern Greek with the synonymous verb φέρω, (as we say ἔφερε τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Γαλλίαν, *he has brought war into France*,) makes me prefer the other reading, which has also the authority of the oldest editions.

22. οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθ.] *Those who, at his own invitation, were seated near him; those who had been brought forward to assist him, and who were seated near him.*

24. κενὴν αἰτίαν] *vain, futile,* or *groundless accusation.*

30. ἱστορίαν] In one manuscript it is written σωτηρίαν.

31. θεάσασθε.] Some editors write θεάσεσθε, on account of the preceding ὄψεσθε, ὠφελήσεσθε.

138 18. τὰ μὲν —, τὰ δὲ] for τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δὲ, *to deceive some, to persuade others.*

20. περὶ τὴν Πυλ. ταραχήν·] Gail says ἡ Πυλαία ταραχὴ, *disturbance in the assembly at Thermopylæ*, and afterwards adds, that ἡ Πυλαία alone, an adjective used elliptically as a substantive, signifies also *the assembly of the Amphictyons at Thermopylæ*, (p. 140, l. 26.) By this it appears that he here takes πυλαίαν ταραχὴν, as an adjective with its substantive; but I do not see how he construes the sentence, or to what he makes περὶ τὴν πυλαίαν ταραχὴν relate, for it cannot be to πόλεμον ποιῆσαι, which would make the most ridiculous sense, or rather, nonsense. He seems to me, therefore, to have been mistaken, the construction being as follows: ποιῆσαι πόλεμον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ ταραχὴν περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν, *to excite war against the Amphictyons, and disturbance in their assembly.* We thus see that the case is the same here as elsewhere, and that τὴν Πυλαίαν is an adjective used as a substantive, the word σύνοδον being understood.

139 2. τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβών,] *Having obtained this dignity of the state.* The expression is exactly the same in our days, ἀξίωμα signifying *honorable appointment, dignity, office.*

4. ἐπέραινεν] *He proceeded to accomplish what he had been hired for.* Περαίνω from πέρας, *end*, as if it were, *he was reaching the end, &c.*

13. προσκαλέσασθαι] to summon. 139

15. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτ. — ἀρχῆς;] *Who then made the adjournment? From what tribunal* or *by what magistrate was the adjournment made?* because ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς is for τίνος ἄρχοντος or τίνα ἀρχὴν ἄρχων. This passage proves two things; first, that in ancient times no one could accuse another without having first summoned him; secondly, that to summon him, the authority of a magistrate was necessary. Κλητεύειν is the proper word for *to summon before a tribunal, to call upon a person to come forward.* Κλήτωρ or κλητὴρ *was the name given to him who summoned another*, says Ulpian. This he could do in two ways either *ex officio*, as sheriff, or as a witness on the part of the principal accuser. Hence in law cases κλητὴρ and μάρτυρ are sometimes equivalent terms. Κλητῆρα ἢ μάρτυρα, says the same scholiast, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καλοῦντα ὑπηρέτην. Sometimes a man was summoned by the accuser's laying hands on him and dragging him by force to the tribunal. Thus we read in Lucian, that the plaintiff said to his adversary, ἕπου μοι μιαρὲ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, *follow me, you villain, to the tribunal*, to which the other answered μὴ ἄγχου με, *do not strangle me.*

23. πόλεμος — ἐταράχθη,] *war was excited*, or *kindled.* Some read ἐπράχθη.

27. ἡγεμόνα ἦγον] for ἡγεμονίαν ἀνῆγον, *offered the command.*

3. παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν K.] *having set out as if going to* 140 *Cirrhæa.* The ὡς here expresses deceit, dissimulation.

4. ἐῤῥῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ] *having said a long adieu*, literally for *having got fairly rid of*, or more simply, *leaving.* This expression is very common in Demosthenes, as in his speech *against Midias*, πολλὰ ἐῤῥῶσθαι εἰπὼν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, *after having bid a long adieu to your laws and to you.*

6. εὐθὺς] After this word by some editors is added ὡς τεῖχος εἶδον οἱ Θ. But we must confess that all these additions render the style much less harmonious and flowing, and at the same time take from its force and spirit. As it is by frequent reading and declamation that I have determined my choice among various readings, or have made corrections of my own, I have been unwilling to adopt these additions, which have, indeed,

140 the authority of some manuscripts in their favor, but which are inferior to what we find in the old editions. My opinion is, that transcribers of limited minds have attempted to insert in the text what would naturally be understood, in making out the sense, and have thus introduced feebleness in the text, where there was formerly energy. The truth of this remark will easily be perceived by instituting a comparison.

8. *Νῦν δὲ τότε*] *Now, then.* This expression is remarkable inasmuch as *νῦν* which is commonly used for the present time, and signifies *now*, may also be used for the past time when joined with *τότε then.* Gail, however, says; "perhaps, for I dare not determine, we ought to say that on account of the idea of the past which precedes, the *νῦν δὲ* is here used *adversatively*, *ἐναντιωματικὸς*, and may be translated, *but in truth.*"

18. *τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων,*] After this word some add *καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων,* perhaps because it is in the following decree, l. 28. This does not seem to me a sufficient reason to authorize the addition; and we ought also to remark that the second decree is much more important than the first, which makes me believe that one was passed in a *συνέδριον* and the other in an *ἐκκλησία.* (See Notes, p. 43, l. 9.)

30. *βοσκήματα νέμουσι*·] Here is another expression, corrected, probably, because it differs from that l. 20; as if the Greek language were too poor to admit of variations. This expression is moreover similar to that in modern Greek, *βόσκουν ζῶα, they pasture cattle.*

141 2. *καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν*] Some critics omit the *καὶ* making the word *στρατηγὸν* relate, not to *τετραυματίκασι*, but to *πρεσβεῦσαι.* This is contrary to the common text, nor does it seem probable that the Amphictyons would have sent their own chief to the king of Macedonia.

7. *διότι*] for *ὅτι.* Wolfius.

26. *τοῖς δημιουργοῖς*] *To the magistrates; τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ δημαγωγοῖς.* Wolfius.

28. *Ὀζόλαι,*] See Notes, p. 39, l. 20.

142 2. *συναντᾶτε*] Lambinus inserts *μοι* on his own authority. I do not think it necessary in the text which I have followed, as the *ἡμῖν*, l. 6. is sufficient for the sense.

6. *Τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ.*] *Those who shall have come to meet us with their whole strength, we will consult; those, on the other hand, who shall not have joined us, we will punish.* This passage in the text is entirely corrupted. It stands thus: *Τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα· τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν μὴ πειμένοις, ἐπιζημίοις.* It is impossible to make any sense out of these words. I have followed the correction of Scrimger which is a good one, and generally approved. 142

20. *Ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα — τῶν φύντων*] *For he who has planted the seed is the cause of the evils which spring from it.* (See Notes, p. 95, l. 28.) This figure has something great and noble, and has been imitated by Cicero, who says to Mark Antony (2 Phil.) "*As, therefore, the seed encloses the germ of trees and plants; thus you, the sole seed of this fatal war, are the cause of all the calamities which follow it.*"

23. *πολύ τι σκότος,*] *Thick darkness conceals the truth from you.* The Greek expression is lively and energetic.

28. *ἀκούσαιτε*] It is also written *ἀκούσετε* and *ἀκούσατε*.

2. *πραττόντων*] One manuscript has *φρονούντων*. 143

31. *βουλῆς — γνώμῃ·*] Understood *ἀνηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον*. R.

7. *αὐτὸν*] After this word is added *κήρυκα καὶ*, probably because it is found in the following decree, l. 23; but it has not perhaps been observed that in one the name of the herald is given, l. 28, and that in the other there are only the names of the ambassadors; which is a reason clearly against the addition. 144

16. *Μουνιχιῶνος*] *The month of June.* It was so called on account of the *Μουνύχια* a festival in honor of *Munychian* Diana, celebrated during this month. (See Notes, p. 125, l. 9.)

17. *πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ·*] *by the direction of the Polemarch.* This officer, when with the army, took precedence of the other generals, and acted as generalissimo. (See Notes, p. 11, l. 2.)

26. *Καὶ γὰρ νῦν — μετρίων.*] *For thus far it* (ὁ δῆμος) *has never thought it just to give assistance to any one.* Wolfius seems undecided whether *οὐ κέκρικε* relates to Philip, or to the Athenian people, and some translators prefer the former: but with the latter, the sense is much more natural and connected.

145 7. *ἐφ' ὑμῖν — αἵρεσιν,*] *To submit their opinion,* or *judgment,* or *will, to yours.*

9. *ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς*] *changing your road,* or *abandoning your enterprise, to commence another;* from *ὑπὸ under,* and *στρέφω I turn,* as if it were, *turning back upon your steps.*

21. *Πυνθάνομαι — παρακαλουμένους.*] *I hear, nevertheless, that the Athenians are doing every thing to excite you, wishing you to follow their exhortations.*

24. *ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον,*] *I formed an opinion against you. I blamed you. I condemned you.* We must here observe the relation between *κατεγίγνωσκον ὑμῶν,* with the following *ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς,* as if it were, *at first I did not know you, but now having recognised you.*

146 6. *Ἐλάτειαν*] See Notes, p. 49, l. 1.

11. *ἐς τὰς πρυτάνεις,*] *ἐς* is a correction of my own, instead of the common reading *ὡς.* As to the Prytanes, see Notes, p. 3, l. 3. As an allusion is here made to the report of the taking of Elatea, which reached the Prytanes while they were at table, we must here call to mind that these magistrates were entitled to take their meals at the Prytaneum or state-house, the expense of which was defrayed by a special fund. These meals, however, were very simple and frugal, either in order that they might by their example recommend temperance to their fellow citizens, or that in case of any sudden emergency, they might be able to take, without delay, all necessary measures.

28. *τῆς κοινῆς*] Reiske prefers *τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος φωνῇ.*

147 5. *οἱ τριακόσιοι·*] *The three hundred* richest citizens were obliged to contribute much more largely than the others to the public treasury, but they likewise enjoyed much greater distinction.

20. *τὴν — τάξιν*] *The post,* a military term which Demosthenes purposely employs in several parts of his speech, as if to show that though he might, as a warrior, have left his post at the battle of Chæronea, he had never abandoned it as a minister at the head of affairs.

30. *Ἐλατείᾳ*] After this word some critics add *γῆν.*

148 21. *Τί οὖν φημὶ δεῖν;*] It is also written *Τί οὖν φημί; δεῖ π.*

25. ὁ κίνδυνος·] After this word is sometimes added ἐστὶν ἡμῶν. 148

6. χρήσασθαι] In this verb, as well as in those which follow, I have preferred the infinitive mood to the common χρήσασθε — δεῖσθε — ἐπαγγείλασθε. 149

20. ἐγὼ, εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ.] After ἐγὼ, and each ἐδέ, with a comma, we must understand ἔστιν ὅτι, and the sense is: *it is not the fact, that I have said these things, without moving decrees concerning them; neither, that I have moved decrees concerning them, without taking the embassy upon me; neither, that I have taken the embassy upon me, without persuading the Thebans.* In this passage there is an instance of what is called in rhetoric *climax*, of great beauty and almost beyond imitation. Cicero, in his fourth book to Herennius, says that climax is a figure by which we ascend from one word to another, in such a manner that the sense grows stronger and stronger. As in this sentence: *What hope of liberty remains to us, if these audacious men can do what they will, if they dare what they can, if they do what they dare, and if what they do, does not excite your indignation.*

30. Βάταλον;] *Batalus*, a flute-player, famous for his debaucheries. His name became proverbial, and was applied to those who plunged into licentious and shameful pleasures. It was given to Demosthones in his youth, on account of his voluptuous inclinations, and it is to this surname that Æschines alludes (p. 63, l. 8,) when he says: *And Aristides surnamed the just, a surname very different from that of Demosthenes.* See also the note on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, v. 1012.

31. Κρεσφόντην,] *A Cresphontes, or Creon, or that Œnomaus.* These are the names of the characters in which Æschines played, while he was a comedian. As to the last he says, ἐπέτριψας, *thou hast crushed him*, because Æschines, when playing at Colyttus the part of Œnomaus, who pursues Pelops, very awkwardly fell down.

30. ἰδίας,] It should be taken in the sense of αὐτονόμους. For if translated as *their own*, it does not make good sense. It has been suspected that it might be καὶ οὐ φιλίας or καὶ οὐκ 150

150 ἰδίας, relating to the Athenians. Auger, however, translates it, *of their dependence, dependent on them.*

31. ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος] Transposed, instead of ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.

151 7. ἤρωσι] See Notes, p. 4, l. 2.

154 6. ναύκληρον] This word signifies *the owner of a vessel*, whilst κυβερνήτης means *the pilot.*

9. τῶν σκευῶν,] By this word we are to understand the *whole rigging;* viz. masts, yards, sails, and in short, all that belongs to the equipping of a vessel.

18. τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης] These words are commonly found after Ἀττικῆς.

22. ἐνῆν] Instead of this word several editions have μέν. Reiske thus corrects the passage on his own authority: ἆρ' οἴεσθε ἔτι νῦν ἂν στῆναι.

25. ὧν γε] It is also written ἄγε, and Reiske, adopting this, also corrects, of himself, ἐς πεῖραν.

155 15. Ἀριστρατος] *Aristratus* and *Aristolaus* had undoubtedly taken advantage of the defeat at Chæronea to accuse, each in his own town, those of the Athenian party, who were the innocent cause of this disaster.

27. τὰ ῥήγμ., καὶ τὰ σπάσμ.,] *fractures and dislocations.* Demosthenes very ingeniously compares Æschines to the pains which, after a limb has been broken or sprained, are felt on the approach of any disease; as if he were an evil disposition inherent in the body of the state, and which shows itself in every disease which attacks it, that is, in every public calamity.

156 11. ἀχονιτὶ,] equivalent to ἀναιμωτὶ, ἀνιδρωτί.

15. εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα — περιέστη,] *If matters had come to the state in which they now are.*

157 3. κινδυνεύσα] We commonly find after this word the comma which I have placed before it, where some critics place a καί· the sense is: *but the city has continually encountered danger, fighting for preeminence, for honor, and for glory.*

13. Κυρσίλον] *Cyrsilus* (called Lycidas by Herodotus, Book IX, § 5.), a senator who was stoned to death, for having advised his fellow citizens to listen to the propositions of Mardonius.

24. *θανάτῳ*] The old editions entirely omit this word, which 157
has been received upon the authority of some manuscripts; it is placed with the article *τοῦ*, after the word *ἀνάγκη*· I have transposed it, and left out the article.

12. *ὃ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι*] With regard to this fine passage, 158
see Longinus *on the Sublime*, § XVI.

23. *γραμματοκύφων*,] for *γραμματεὺς*, because *οἱ γραμματεῖς προσκεκυφότες γράφουσι*. It is here taken in a bad sense, and signifies a *miserable scribe*.

30. *τοῦ*] This word is added by several editors. I have retained it, but have transposed *τούτων*, for the sake of euphony. Other editions have *τὸ τοῦ τούτων*.

6. *ἀποδ. ἀξ.*] Transposed by me, instead of *ἀξιώματα ἀποδιδό-* 159
ντας.

7. *τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ*,] *Taking the staff and the symbol*. The first of these words is in allusion to the staff which the judges held in their hands in going to the tribunal. The second was a sort of *tablet*, *πινακίδιον*, *where was written the name of the judge and of the tribunal*. See the Scholiast on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, v. 277.

27. *ἐξίτε*,] *You were going out*. Here is again one of those 160
words which show what an advantage it would be, if Greek scholars would pronounce the language as do the Greeks themselves. This word is commonly written *ἐξῆτε*, as if it were the imperfect of the verb *εἰμὶ*, *I am*. The critics saw the necessity of correcting it, and made it *ἐξήειτε*, which *Buttmann's Grammar* places as an imperfect of the verb *εἶμι*, *I go*, but which is in fact the pluperfect middle, the imperfect of this verb being *ἴτε*, as may be seen in the *Grammar of Lascaris*. Thus we see that so simple a thing, which has given some trouble to learned commentators, is merely a fault in the orthography which would have been easily perceived if they had remembered that *η* and *ι* are pronounced, and ever have been pronounced, in exactly the same manner.

14. *τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ π. καὶ τὴν χ.*] *In the two battles which you fought;* 161
one near the river, the other during the winter. In alluding to these two battles, Demosthenes was sufficiently well understood

161 by his hearers, but did not explain himself clearly enough for posterity.

162 5. *αὐτοῖς*] Some correct the passage by *αὐτούς*.

9. *ὅτι*] Omitted by some editors; and the word *πλάνοι* is also written *πλάνη*· which evidently was caused by the similar pronunciation of *οι* and *η*.

14. *Καλλίστρατος*] *Callistratus*, an Athenian orator, whose eloquent speech on the town of Oropus caused Demosthenes to take the resolution of devoting himself to eloquence. As to *Aristophon*, *Cephalus*, *Thrasybulus*, see Notes, p. 67, l. 20, 22, and p. 68, l. 5.

26. *προνοίᾳ*] Corrected on my own authority, instead of the common *πρόνοιαν*, which Reiske also on his own authority alters to *προνοίας*.

163 17. *Ἀριστόνικος*,] See Notes, p. 116, l. 14.

28. *ἀνεκρίνετο*] Some correct it, *ἂν ἐκρίνετο*, and *ἐφ'*, which last I have adopted instead of the common *ἀφ'*.

164 4. *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας*,] This reading is preferable, as being more forcible than *ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀληθείας*, or even than the addition of *τῆς*, and the omission of *οὔσης*.

165 23. *πάνυ — ὁρᾷς*;] *For do you not see it is for that?* ironically.

166 1. *ἐσυκοφάντεις*.] This verb as well as the preceding *ἐδείκνυες*, is frequently altered to the third person, on account of *ὁ βουλόμενος*, *κτλ.* preceding page, l. 20. I have said so much in former notes, about these apparent irregularities, which ought to be regarded as so many beauties and elegances of style, that it is sufficient merely to mention the correction.

8. *προεξειλεγμένα*·] from *προεκλέγειν*, and not *προεξηλεγμένα*, from *προεξελέγχειν*, which has been very properly corrected. This was undoubtedly another of those mistakes in orthography, arising from the similar pronunciation of *ει* and *η*.

167 1. *ἔγωγ'*] I have added *γ'* on my own authority.

9. *ἴσων*] Some critics write *νήσων*, but what follows makes me prefer *ἴσων*.

12. *διακοσίας*] It was at the battle of Salamis that the Athenians had two hundred vessels, the rest of the Greeks furnishing only one hundred.

168 11. *κίναδος*] See Notes, p. 58, l. 5.

12. *αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος,*] *A mere tragic ape.* It appears that 168
Demosthenes by this wished it to be understood, that Æschines did not succeed upon the stage, and that instead of being an actor himself, he aped the manner of others.

13. *ἀγροῖος Οἰνόμαος,*] ***Rustic Œnomaus.*** He gives him this appellation, either because he played this character in the country, or alluding to his awkward fall. (See Notes, p. 149, l. 31.)

13. *παράσημος ῥήτωρ.*] ***An orator of a false stamp, of bad coinage;*** meaning an *obscure orator.* *Τῷ πονηρῷ κόμματος ὤν.* W.

13. *πολιτικὰ*] I really do not see why Reiske should be so de- 169
sirous of substituting for this word *συνήλικα.* The sense is far from being so good as that given by *πολιτικά.* ***Necessary vices, and inseparable from the nature of the government in all republics.***

7. *τῆς πόλεως*] After this word some add *βουλευόμενος.* 170

11. *σιτώνην*] I have placed this word before *αἱρούμενος,* and *ὁ δῆμος,* before *ἐχειροτόνησε* · the reverse being common.

17. *ἑκάστην*] After this word Reiske adds *σχεδόν τι,* the first upon authority, the second of himself.

18. *Σωσικλέους,*] ***Sosicles, Philocrates, Diondas, Melanus.*** History does not explain to us the causes or the effects of the implacable hatred and malicious attempts of these four men against Demosthenes. As to Philocrates, see p. 29.

25. *ἐγνωκότων*] instead of the common *γνόντων.* We also find *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ εὔορκα γνόντων δικαστῶν.*

19. *ἡγοῦμαι.*] After this word some add *καὶ ἀπαλδεντον.* 171

6. *τὸ δὲ*] It is also written *τῷ δέ.* 172

20. *νεβρίζων,*] from *νεβρὶς, buckskin,* and not *νευρίζων,* from 173
νεῦρον, nerve, as it is found in all the old editions. This fault arose from the similar pronunciation of *εϐ* and *ευ* · other faults from a similar cause have been noticed above. See my Modern Greek Grammar, ***Chapter on Pronunciation.***

21. *ἀπομάττων*] for *ἀποψῶν, in rubbing,* or upon farther search, for *περιπλάττων, covering, besmearing,* as a ceremony practised in commemoration of the adventure of Bacchus, who was plastered over with gypsum by the Titans, to prevent their being recognised by him.

23. *Ἔφυγον, — ἄμεινον ·*] ***I fled the evil, and found the better.*** These were solemn words pronounced at the celebration of the

173 ceremonies here mentioned, in allusion to the ancient manner of living in Attica, when the inhabitants fed upon acorns, and to their modern delacacies which resulted from their progress in civilization.

27. *θιάσους*] from *θεῖα*, and *ᾄσαι*, *to sing divine things*, and it is used to signify *the crowds which met to celebrate the festivals of Bacchus.*

28. *μαράθρῳ — λεύκῃ,*] *Crowned with fennel and white poplar.*

29. *τὰς παρείας*] Ὁ παρέλας, a sort of serpent called so, *παρὰ τὸ ἐπῆρθαι τὰς παρείας, from having swollen cheeks.* It is said not to bite, or its bite to be harmless. It was used in the ceremonies of Bacchus, to excite the wonder of the people.

30. *Εὐοῖ Σαβοῖ,*] The first of these words is composed of *εὖ*, *well*, and *οἶ*, *to him.* The second is a Phrygian word, and means *the priests of Bacchus.* *Οἱ μὲν Σαβοὺς λέγουσι τοὺς τελουμένους τῷ Σαβαζίῳ, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τῷ Διονύσῳ.* Harpocr.

31. *Ὗης Ἄττης,*] Two epithets applied to Bacchus. The first signifying *rainy*, *ὅτι ὗσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ· because at his birth Jupiter watered the earth with rain.* With regard to the second there are various opinions; that which Tourreil prefers is, that it comes from *ἄτη*, *injury*, *ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τῶν Τιτάνων εἰς αὐτὸν ἄτης καὶ φθορᾶς·* might it not, however, be derived from *ἄττω*, *I leap*, as if making his adorers leap?

174 1. *κιττοφ., λικνοφ.,*] *Ivy-bearer, van-bearer*, words which remind us that the ivy and the van were sacred to Bacchus.

3. *ἐνθρυπτα καὶ σρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα·*] Three different kinds of pastry. The first comes from *ἐνθρύπτω*, *I crumb*, because it was made *εἰς σκάφην ἄρτους διαθρύψαντες.* The second, from *στρέφω*, *I turn*, and we understand *ἄρτους·* as we understand *ἅλφιτα*, at the word *νεήλατα*, which comes from *νέος*, *new*, *ἀλέω I grind*, as if we said, *cakes of meal newly ground.*

8. *τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις.*] *Τοῖς ἐλάττοσι τῶν ἀρχόντων.* Wolfius.

12. *βαρυστόνοις*] *Pathetic*, from *βαρὺς*, *heavy*, and *στένω*, *I sigh.*

15. *ἐλαίας*] Reiske writes *ἐλάας*, and makes a distinction between *ἐλαία*, *olive tree*, and *ἐλάα*, *olive.* But even if *ἐλάα* does signify *olive*, it does not prevent *ἐλαία* from having the meaning both of *olive* and *olive tree*, since it is still used in this double

acceptation among us. I therefore retain *ἰλαίας*, for which there 174
are also all the best authorities.

11. *Ἐξέπ. — ἰσύριττον.*] *You were falling* (see Notes, p. 149, 175
l. 31,) *and I was hissing.* We see by this passage that the practice of hissing at public representations, is not of modern origin.

21. *λειτυρ.*] *The testimony of the public offices which I have held.*

23. *ἐλυμαίνου·*] It is also written *ἐλυμήνω.* Of the two lines here quoted, the first is from *the Hecuba of Euripides;* the second, from *the Antigone of Sophocles.* It is probable that they are not taken indiscriminately from among the parts played by Æschines, as a comedian, but that Demosthenes singled them out with some malice.

2. *ἐγώ.*] Reis. adds this word, which gives more clearness. 176

25. *νομίμοις*] R. prefers *νόμοις*, and corrects *διωρισθαι.* 177

26. *διακείμενον*] It is also written *διακείμενα.* 178

4. *ἔχθρας, καὶ φ.,*] Reiske corrects *ἔχθρας ἕνεκα, φ.,* without 179
the slightest authority, and merely for the pleasure of correcting; for if the text thus altered, is good, unaltered, it is no less so. This is not an uncommon fault in this great Hellenist and critic, who has made magnificent discoveries in his philological researches, but who frequently errs, through his fondness for adding.

18. *αὐτῆς*] understood *ἀγκύρας· He is not held by the same anchor as the people;* that is, *he does not look to the same things as the people for his safety.*

22. *πρεσβευτὴς*] *You were going as ambassador.* After the battle of Chæronea, the Athenians fearing the power and the anger of the conqueror, sent him an embassy to beg for peace. It is probable that they sent those whom they knew to be his friends, and Æschines was of the number.

28. *καταρᾶται*] After this word some add *καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν.*

30. *τὸ*] I have added this word, and have put in the infinitive the words which are commonly written *φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει.* Some editions have *ἢ εἰ μὴ ταὐτὰ καὶ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει,* and others *εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἃ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει.*

7. *ἕνεκα*] commonly put after *ἰδίας,* but I have transposed it. 180

15. *ἐπὶ τῷ*] A transposition, likewise on my own authority; the text is commonly *ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τοντωνὶ συμφ. διαφθείρειν.*

180 16. *αὐτοῖς*] Reiske substitutes for this word *αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ*, the first on authority, the second, of his own accord.

25. *Δημάδην*,] *Demades*, a celebrated Athenian orator, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Chæronea. His vivacity and his frankness having gained him the friendship of Philip, he took advantage of it to engage him to make peace with the Athenians. He met with a most miserable end. Cassander, son of Antipater, having intercepted a secret letter written against his father, slew the son of Demades before his eyes, and killed the unhappy man himself, upon the lifeless body of his son.

181 3. *εὐθηνούντων*] *While things were prosperous.* It is also written *εὐθενούντων*.

14. *ἐλθόντας*] It is also written *ἐλθόντα* and *ὑποκρινόμενον*.

22. *τὸ περίδειπνον*] *The funeral banquet.* This was considered as a religious ceremony, instituted to honor the memory of those whose loss was mourned, and to recall to the minds of the guests the remembrance of death. This custom still remains in Greece, as common as formerly.

182 4. *ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος*,] Understood *μετὰ*, and it signifies *fighting with vigor and resolution.* The word *λήματος* is substituted for *δείματος* which is not so good. In adopting the latter, we should understand *ἕνεκα*, and make this sense, *fighting to preserve their warlike virtue, and to inspire terror in their enemies.*

11. *ἔπορεν.*] *nothing can escape fate.* This word is also written *ἔποροον* with *οἱ θεοὶ* understood. Reiske, of his own accord, corrects by putting *ἕτερον*, and construes thus: *ὀκ ἔξεστιν ἑτερόν τι φυγεῖν τὴν μοῖραν.*

26. *τοῖς γεγ.*] understood *ἐπὶ*, which some insert in the text.

184 12. *προπεπωκότες*,] *Having drunk, in a health to Philip, the destruction of Grecian liberty;* figuratively, for *having sold* or *betrayed the public liberty to Philip.*

185 14. *καὶ ἵππεις*,] We commonly find *καὶ πολλὲς ἵππεις*, and Reiske encloses the word *πολλές*. But placing the word after, as I have done, the sense is so much more natural and simple, that it must have been placed before by the mistake of some transcriber.

186 5. *Πέρινθον*;] Instead of this word we find *Εὔβοιαν*, which many learned men consider as corrupt, and which Reiske

writes between brackets. It is conjectured that the proper 186
words is that which I have here written, although it is not supported by the authority of manuscripts. What Gail says in a note in favor of *Εὔβοιαν*, does not appear to me convincing, and what is said by Demosthenes, p. 185, l. 27, *Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι*, is a reason for not repeating the word here.

15. *δαίμονός τινος*] See Notes, p. 40. l. 8.

4. *ἀγαθοῖς*] a word added upon authority. 187

9. *ἀποστάντα*] preferable to the common *οὐκ ἀποστάντα*.

14. *βασκαίνειν*·] Before this word some add *προελόμενον*.

19. *εἶ*;] It is also written *γέγονας*. 188

26. *εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν*·] We might translate this by, *to aspire after honorable places*, or more at length, *wealth accumulated to enable him to fill with honor those offices which involve great expenses*.

9. *τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης*.] *tragedian Theocrines;* who at first wrote 189
pieces for the theatre; but having soon left this employment for that of accuser, or rather calumniator, his name became a proverb, and *a Theocrines* was equivalent to *a calumniator*.

2. *οἱ διασύροντες*] Reiske prefers *οἳ διέσυρον μέν*. 190

11. *Φιλάμμωνι, — Γλαύκου*] See Notes, p. 65, l. 27, 28.

16. *ὅρα με*] *compare me.* *Ὁρᾶν*, *to see*, is here synonymous with *παραβάλλειν*, *συγκρίνειν*, *to compare*.

28. *Μὴ δῆτ'*,] Demosthenes terminates his speech as he be- 191
gan it, by invoking the Gods with a confidence which nothing but a good conscience can give. There can be nothing more touching or more pathetic than this whole peroration. We may say that it is in every point according to the rules which rhetoricians give us, or rather that rhetoricians have drawn their rules from this masterpiece of eloquence.

THE END.

ERRATA.

The two following, it is believed, are all that exist in the text:

Page 43, *line* 23, *for* ὑμῶν, *read* ἡμῶν
" 144, " 16, " Μυνιχιῶνος, " Μουνιχιῶνος

In the notes, the following is the only one affecting the sense:

Page 267, *line* 34, *for* to Demomeles, *read* to Demosthenes

9/c

B.1